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$12.50 per year NEWSPAPER

Schools Would Solve Urban 'Problems'

LBJ Pushes $250-Million 'Sleeper' in College Aid Bill

From the Allen-Scott Report

President Johnson is maneuvering through Congress another "legislative sleeper" being privately hailed by his aides as even more important than the recently passed State Technical Service Act.

Known as the Community Service Programs section of the President's higher education bill, the revolutionary proposal is designed to extend the role of the nation's universities, faculties and student bodies into community and national affairs on a scale never before attempted.

Like the State Technical Service Act, which the President publicly labeled the "sleeper" of the 89th Congress, the Community Service Program is patterned after the Agricultural Extension Service Act.

It provides $50 million annually in federal grants to universities and colleges the next five years to launch programs to assist in solving urban and suburban problems.

Under guidelines to be laid down by the Office of Education of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, educators will be encouraged to exert a liberal influence in their communities by giving them federal funds to hold conferences, seminars and teach-ins to discuss and work out methods of combatting the social life and problems of the growing big cities and their suburbs.

Emphasizing the sense of mission behind the Administration's new educational project, Vice President Hubert Humphrey told a Washington meeting of educators:

"If we are going to solve the problems of poverty and race that are plaguing our cities, the universities and their faculties must become involved in the community around them. They must quit playing games and get into the battle.

"Any nation that believes in justice must see that those on the bottom receive more than those on top. This Community Service Program will use the great influence of the universities to help bring this about."

According to White House aides, the new educational program is the brainchild of HEW Secretary John Gardner, who helped sell it to the President while serving as chairman of the White House Conference on Education before his recent Cabinet appointment.

Working closely with Fred H. Harrington, Wisconsin University president, Gardner reportedly developed the idea of projecting the influence of universities into the communities while president of Carnegie Corp.

Both Gardner and Harrington view the proposed Community Service Program as a means of encouraging colleges and universities to transmit directly to the people the knowledge and skills developed by scholars.

"For example, an urban program focused on improving the situation of the disadvantaged in a metropolitan inner core might include an economic basic study in cooperation with all types of local groups," Harrington declared in a statement being studied by legislators now trying to iron out the differences between the Senate and House-passed higher education bills.

He reported that these community service programs could "include television programs beamed directly at the disadvantaged persons, workshops for teachers, guidance counselors, evening classes for social workers, pamphlets for community leaders, and other professional and demonstration curriculum in local institutions."

The report of the House Education and Labor subcommittee, which approved the program with little discussion, indicated federal funds could be used for an even wider variety of projects, including:

- "Concentrated studies of employment problems and the resources of communities toward stimulating economic growth and more effective management of community enterprises that will largely determine the course of the community's future."
- "Task forces to appraise the community welfare administration and to subject the problems revealed by this appraisal to the insights of a wide variety of university disciplines; among others, psychologists, economists, architects, lawyers and physicians."
- "Conferences and seminars to help local groups mount attacks on poverty, and on ways to end discrimination patterns in housing, education and employment."

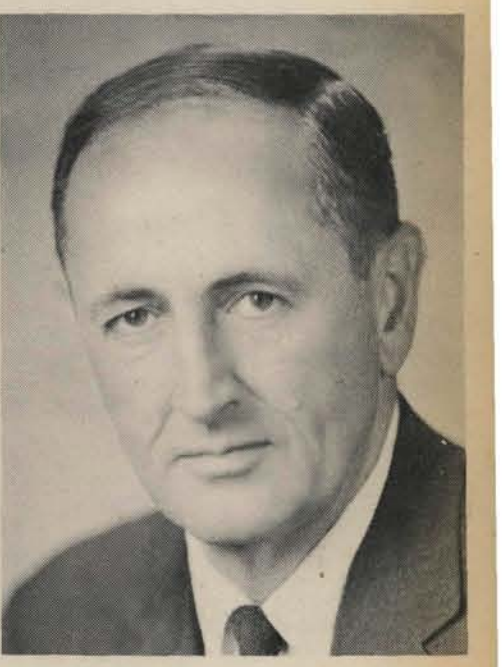
There are other indications that Administration officials envisage an even wider use of federal funds by universities.

One confidential memorandum being circulated within the Office of Education reveals that universities will be encouraged to use the federal grants to hold conferences on foreign policy, conservation and leisure.

"The Community Service Program can make college professors as influential in big cities as the Agricultural Extension Service Act made the County Extension Agent," concludes the memorandum.

(Distributed 1965 by the Hall Syndicate, Inc.)

Vice President Hubert Humphrey



HEW Secretary John Gardner

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Page 8

Poverty Funds Aid Black Muslims

Page 2

AFTER 20-YEAR ABSENCE

New 'Progressive Party' Planned

Page 14

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Anti-Poverty Funds Used to Pay Black Muslims

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

Anti-poverty funds supplied by Sargent Shriver's Office of Economic Opportunity are paying the salaries not only of politicians but of Black Muslim extremists and rock-and-roll "musicians" as well.

Livingston L. Wingate, executive director of New York's HARYOU-ACT, conceded recently that he has used federal funds to hire members of the Black Muslims and other black supremacist groups. Wingate, a political ally of Adam Clayton Powell, defended the employment of racial extremists on the grounds "they are part of the Harlem community."

Wingate has hired a veteran black supremacist, James Lawson, as a $105-a-week "consultant." Lawson, who heads the United African Nationalist Movement, frequently harangues Harlem rallies with vituperative attacks upon the white man.

Anti-poverty officials in Chicago are financing rock-and-roll choral groups with funds. Denton J. Brooks Jr., executive director of the Chicago Committee on Urban Opportunity, defends the development of rock-and-roll groups, insisting they have "cultural and economic implications." Brooks says the federally financed groups will provide jobs for persons who otherwise would not have them.

Job Corps officials in New Bedford, Mass., recently used taxpayer dollars to bail out of jail a Job Corpsman arrested on a narcotics charge. The youth, Roy B. Atkins, was arrested in New Haven and charged with possession of marijuana. A Job Corps official journeyed to New Haven, bailed out Atkins and took the youngster back to camp, where he is studying "business education."

An anti-poverty project in Syracuse, N.Y., is run by Saul Alinsky. Syracuse Mayor William F. Walsh charged recently that Alinsky's Community Action Training Center is used to "train agitators" and teach "Marxist doctrines of class conflict."

Reports from Connecticut indicate that anti-poverty jobs in that state are dispensed as political patronage. Directors of New Britain's "War on Poverty" were recently named and, not surprisingly, boast impressive political connections. Albert J. Gentile, a bandleader, was given an $8,000-a-year supervisory post. He is a former campaign aide to Democratic Mayor James F. Dawson. Frank J. Rocco, also named to an $8,000 position, is a close political associate of State Rep. Dominic J. Badalato, a local Democratic power.

The appointments were so incredible that even Joseph Dyer, the state anti-poverty chief, was enraged. "It's a program for the poor, not a political seminar," he said.

Anti-poverty jobs in other sections of the country have also come under fire. Reporters for the Newark *Evening News* recently interviewed "needy" youngsters hired for summer jobs as part of the "War on Poverty." Few of the youngsters even claimed financial hardship, according to the paper.

One girl said she would use her summer savings to finance a mid-winter ski trip. "My courses are difficult and I need a break about mid-semester," the Rutgers University co-ed explained.

A boy, hired as a file clerk, said his family was well off. "I hope to use part of the money I make this summer to buy an electric accordion," he said.

A daughter of a well-to-do family said she had taken an anti-poverty job simply because she had nothing else to do.

Note: Sen. Carl Curtis, (R.-Neb.), is furious at poverty czar Shriver, convinced that Shriver's office has deliberately deceived him on the operations of a Women's Job Corps Center in Omaha.

Curtis wrote to Shriver on July 22, seeking answers to 15 specific questions about the center. Shriver took more than a month to answer, finally supplying Curtis with detailed answers about the cost of the project. Curtis later learned that Shriver time after time supplied him with totally inaccurate figures, and an OEO spokesman has admitted that Shriver's letter was in many cases "misleading."

Money from Sargent Shriver's program also pays the salaries of some rock-and-roll groups.

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Would You Trade with Nazis?

From the Chattanooga *News-Free Press*

What would you have thought if in the middle of World War II our President had proposed trade between the United States and Nazi Germany?

You would have thought him crazy, wouldn't you?

A move to impeach him would have come so fast the issue would have been settled immediately.

But today we are at war against Communist aggressors throughout the world, in one form or another, and yet the Johnson Administration proposes to step up trade with the Red enemy.

President Lyndon B. Johnson announced the week of September 13 that he will send a commercial trade mission to Communist Poland and Communist Rumania to try to sell more American products to the Reds. Apologists for the Administration explain that these countries are showing signs of "independence" from the Soviet bloc.

This is a foolish, shortsighted and unrealistic alibi. But even if it should be taken at face value, which takes a lot of assuming, how does the Johnson Administration explain our trade with Russia? Is Russia showing "independence" from the Russian bloc, too?

The whole matter of trading with any Communists represents aid to an enemy that not only is sworn to destroy us but which is seeking today to do so by espionage, subversion, covert aggression and direct warfare.

How do you think our men in Viet Nam would feel if the Johnson Administration sent aid to the North Viet Nam aggressors while sending our men to die in warfare against them? Well, we are doing about the same thing when we trade with Russia, which is supporting the Viet Nam Reds, or any other Communist nation.

Any trade with Communists helps Communists. It strengthens their domestic economy and helps them keep their people captive. So-called "non-military" trade simply allows the Reds to switch a portion of their manufacturing capability to aggressive production because we have eased their burden in other areas.

Trade with Communists represents a sickening, greedy grasping for a dollar at the expense of the blood of Americans and a threat to the future freedom of Americans.

The Communists the world over are at war with us and all the free world. We should no more trade with them or give them any other kind of aid than we would have the Nazis.

But Mr. Johnson sends a trade mission to the Reds and the nation takes it lying down. What's wrong with us?

□ □ □

U.S.A. "VIRTUALLY IMPOTENT"—Former Vice President Richard Nixon is emerging as the foremost critic of Administration policies, especially in the foreign field. Recently he took some sharp jabs at LBJ, saying that the India-Pakistan fracas is a "reflection on the foreign policy ability" of the Johnson Administration. Nixon noted that even though the United States has spent $10 billion on military and economic aid to the two countries, it has "so lost its influence and impact with both countries that it is virtually impotent." Nixon also said that any negotiated settlement in Viet Nam would be a legitimate campaign issue for Republicans in 1966.

PROGRESS REPORT to Parents and Friends of Students:

Liberalism, as you know, is still the reigning orthodoxy at most of the nation's schools. But the picture is not all black—here and there chinks are being made in the Liberal Wall, as witness a recent story in the New York *Times* (Sept. 5) commenting on the high number of colleges that have become "drop outs" from the ultra-liberal National Student Association.

We take pleasure in quoting the *Times*' explanation of why these schools are pulling out: " . . . Recently, in response to attacks in the ultra-conservative magazine *Human Events* and a belief that an organization of student governments should confine its activities to campus problems, other schools have left [NSA]. They include Ohio State, Purdue and Indiana University."

This is an encouraging breakthrough, but it's only the beginning. We must exploit our initial success by continuing and even stepping up the assault. More and more students must be exposed to *Human Events*—and for this *we need your help*:

Many students either cannot afford or do not know about HUMAN EVENTS. So we are asking you, our loyal readers—parents and friends of students—to introduce as many students as possible to HUMAN EVENTS right now, at the beginning of the school year. Our students—tomorrow's leaders—deserve an honest and independent voice.

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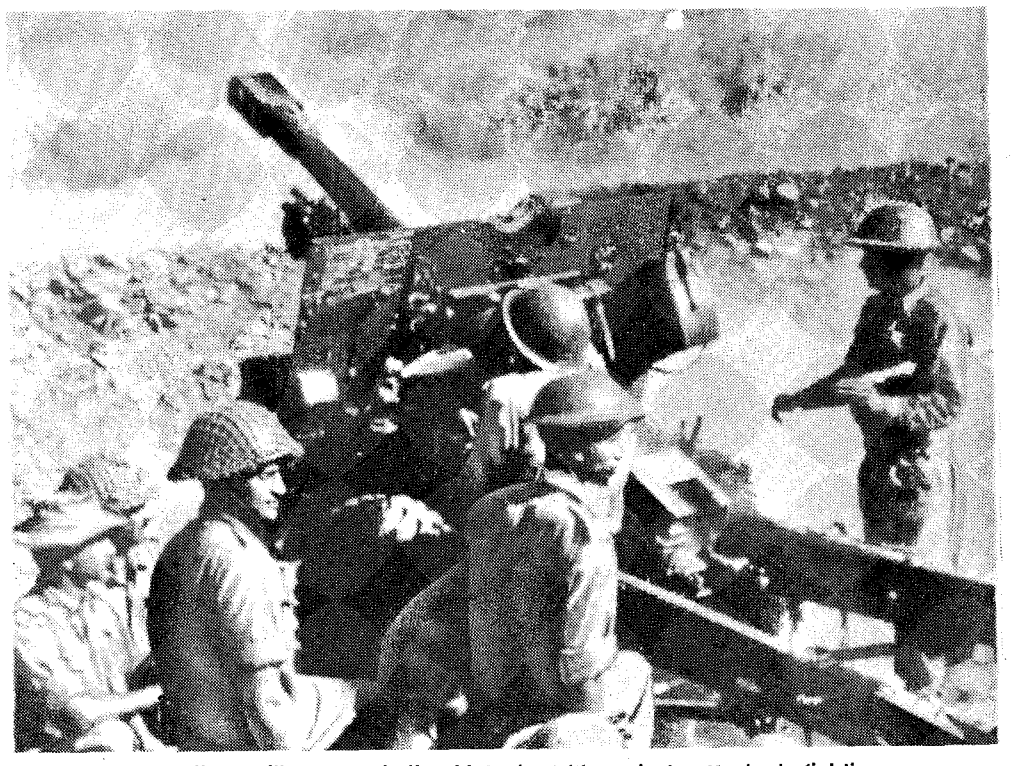

Indian artillerymen shell Pakistani positions during Kashmir fighting.

Gen. Mark Clark Says:

Chinese Reds Fear War with U.S.

By VICTOR LASKY

The fear that the Red Chinese might start a war over Viet Nam is being discounted by a man who should know. Gen. Mark Clark, who commanded U.N. forces during the Korean War, believes that "the last thing Red China wants is war."

For one thing, the Chinese are not fools. They are well aware of the military might of the Americans in that part of the world. And they have come to realize that the American "paper tiger" has nuclear teeth.

"Even if we bomb their borders," says Clark, "I don't think the Chinese will give more than token retaliation."

If anything, the Chinese are the real "paper tigers."

Clark, who commanded the 5th Army in the invasion of Italy during World War II and who more recently was chancellor of the famed military school, the Citadel, gave high marks to President Johnson for his handling of the war in Viet Nam.

But Clark believes that the U.S. should step up its aerial bombings on what he dubs "a remunerative basis." He believes in bombing more factories, railroads and munitions dumps. "If we use more air power than manpower," he adds, "North Viet Nam will be more apt to come to the peace table."

At the same time, the general faults the Johnson Administration for constantly stressing its peaceful intentions. "The enemy construes our constant reiteration as a weakness," he says. "When the enemy thinks they have found appeasement and weakness they will then press forward."

Mao Tse-Tung won't risk war with U.S., according to Gen. Mark Clark.

The same criticism, incidentally, came from Richard M. Nixon following his recent return from a tour of Viet Nam. And there is little doubt that the Communists view Washington's constant calls for peace talks as connoting a basic weakness.

Gen. Clark, of course, recognizes that Washington is concerned about foreign public opinion in this regard. But in the final analysis, he says, "we will make more friends by direct action than with talks."

Clark also discounts the role of the United Nations as a peacemaker in Viet Nam. "When I was U.N. commander for the last year and a half in Korea," he observed, "I never received any word from them during that critical time. I have carefully watched the United Nations. In my opinion, they never solve anything and they never come to a conclusion."

In a speech at Villanova University Clark expounded on the need for vigilance against Communist subversion. The heartening thing was that his hard-hitting anti-Communist remarks were greeted with enormous enthusiasm by several thousand students. Not one placard-bearing left-winger was in sight.

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NO KIN—The U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity has contracted to buy books published by a private outfit called —what else?—The Great Society Publishing Co. Despite appearances, it's not a subsidiary of the LBJ Corp.—From the Richmond *News-Leader*

☐ ☐ ☐

SWEDISH SOCIALISM—The Swedish program of cradle-to-grave welfarism has been expanded still further. Newly married couples are given a 5,000-kroner ($1,000) grant with which to purchase furniture. Swedish officials justify "furnicare" on these grounds: "The government considers it part of its duty to help the high costs of starting a family."

Fight Over Kashmir

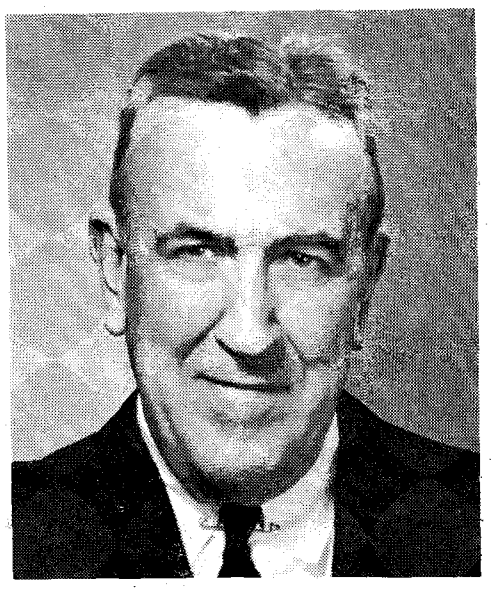
Whose Game Is Bowles Playing?

By RUSSELL KIRK

Did the American ambassador to India, Mr. Chester Bowles, advise the Indian government to attack West Pakistan? So implies the New Delhi correspondent of the London *Daily Telegraph*.

One of the most responsible papers in the world, the *Telegraph* is especially reputable in the field of foreign affairs; also it is a paper friendly toward the United States. So the *Telegraph's* report must be taken seriously.

When the present fighting in the Indian subcontinent commenced, it was confined to Kashmir, a country to which Pakistan has a better claim than does India. For 17 years the United Nations has promised to hold a plebiscite in Kashmir, to determine which rival power the people of that land desire to join. Had the conflict been restricted to Kashmir, the great powers and the United Nations might have persuaded India and Pakistan to submit to arbitration—and, after 17 years, the plebiscite.



Did Chester Bowles, U. S. envoy to India, encourage the attack on Pakistan?

But India retaliated by attacking West Pakistan in the neighborhood of Lahore, thus turning the struggle into a direct and deadly contest between Pakistan and India. It will now be immensely difficult to persuade the belligerents to come to a conference table.

According to the *Telegraph's* correspondent, American CIA personnel reported (what is most unlikely) that the president of Pakistan, Ayub Khan, is politically precarious, and may be ousted by a *coup d'etat*. Ambassador Bowles, we are to understand, transmitted this dubious intelligence to the Indian government.

Encouraged, Prime Minister Shastri's Cabinet decided to launch an assault directly upon West Pakistan, and so informed Mr. Bowles—in advance.

If this is true, Chester Bowles may have tried, blunderingly, to serve the best interests of India; but he acted against American foreign policy. The Johnson Administration is genuinely desirous of remaining neutral in the fight between India and Pakistan, and President Johnson entertains a very high opinion of President Ayub Khan. By becoming a partisan of India, and furnishing the Indian government with secret information, Bowles acts as if he were Indian ambassador to the United States, rather than vice versa.

Throughout both his pre-Eisenhower and his post-Eisenhower missions to India, Ambassador Bowles has behaved as if he were sent to make Indians happy—which gives him popularity in India, but does not necessarily advance the interests of the United States in Asia.

When elbowed out of the State Department in Washington, during the Kennedy Administration, he insisted upon the renewal of his appointment to New Delhi. Now President Johnson may find it necessary to elbow Bowles out of India, too.

Few responsible Americans in either party would be sorry to see Bowles supplanted by an ambassador who would not act as if his orders originated in New Delhi. As Sen. Clifford Case puts it, "It would seem to me that India cannot assume this self-righteous attitude which she has always maintained in view of the whole background of Kashmir. Originally, there was an agreement to arbitrate over Kashmir which India has refused to honor."

If Chester Bowles, in a fit of devotion to India, has helped to enlarge the war in the subcontinent, he may have much to answer for at the bar of history—and to the Johnson Administration.

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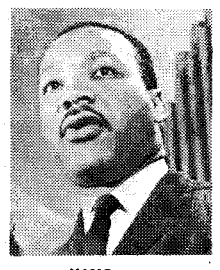
CAPITOL CAMERA

• Since Sen. Thomas J. Dodd's (D.-Conn.) attack against Martin Luther King for his radical speeches on foreign affairs, a number of other liberals, including Negroes, have criticized King. Whitney Young, a Negro and executive director of the National Urban League, indirectly criticized the Nobel Peace Prize-winner by stating that support "of peaceful achievement of civil rights need not preclude an aggressive attitude toward the war in Viet Nam." And Sen. Jacob Javits (R.-N.Y.) termed King's entry into the ranks of critics of our Viet Nam policy "unwarranted and confusing and damaging to the civil rights cause."



KING

• *New York* Times *correspondent Tad Szulc, a fan of the "Democratic left" in Latin America, is believed to have worked closely with Sen. J. W. Fulbright (D.-Ark.) on the latter's fulminations against American military action against the Dominican Communists.*

• The Associated Press reports that Gregory W. Stikes, 25, a Peace Corpsman just back from Indonesia and Thailand, says American taxpayers aren't getting their worth from the Peace Corps, and that it is not a workable method of combating communism. Sikes was quoted as saying, "We are not doing enough to warrant our being there. It's the same story of frustration everywhere. The corpsmen have had to lower their goals, and after they have gone their work is soon forgotten." Sikes said the $800 million the United States has spent in Indonesia was wasted, adding: "The corps was kicked out by President Sukarno. And Indonesia is going Communist."

SUKARNO

• *The House last week adopted by an overwhelming 312-to-52 vote a resolution endorsing any military force that may be necessary to combat Communist subversion in the Western hemisphere. Three Republicans—Ogden Reid (N. Y.), Charles Mathias (Md.) and Silvio Conte (Mass.)—joined 49 Democrats in opposing the resolution. Voting for the resolution were 195 Democrats and 117 Republicans.*

• Secretary of State Dean Rusk recently wrote House Republican Congressional Committee Chairman Bob Wilson (Calif.) labeling a "canard" an item published in a committee publication stating that Rusk had likened the Chinese revolution to the American struggle for freedom. Wilson sent back to Rusk a story from the Philadelphia *Bulletin* of Jan. 13, 1950, headlined "Revolt in China Likened to '76—Rusk of State Dept. Gives Talk Here." The *Bulletin* report read in part: "The revolution now raging in China springs from the same basic causes as the American Revolution, the World Affairs Council of Philadelphia was told today. The statement came from Dean Rusk, deputy under secretary of the U. S. Department of State, at the start of the council's two-day session at the University of Pennsylvania."

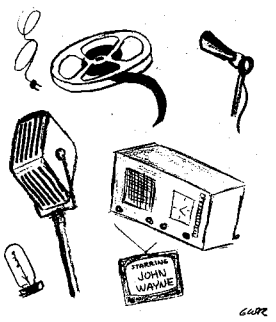
RUSK

• *The director of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee predicted recently that the GOP can pick up four Senate seats in the 1966 election—in Tennessee, Alabama, Montana and Oregon. Other Republican leaders believe the party will pick up at least 40 seats in the House.*

This Week in Washington

Fairness Doctrine Challenged

Washington was abuzz last week with news of a sensational suit brought against the Democratic National Committee and the Federal Communications Commission which could deal a death blow to the controversial "Fairness Doctrine"—a measure used by Administration forces to knock conservative broadcasts off the air.



Under this doctrine, as expounded by the FCC, station owners have been coerced into giving Democrats and liberals free time to respond to paid conservative commentary. Rather than be subject to giving free time, many stations have dropped conservative broadcasts. Thus, the outcome of this suit could have a significant influence on the complexion of political broadcasting throughout the country.

Filed in federal court in the District of Columbia by the Red Lion Broadcasting Co., Inc., of Red Lion, Pa., and its president and major stockholder, the Rev. John M. Norris, the suit calls for:

(1) A judgment rendering the "Fairness Doctrine" illegal because it violates the 1st, 5th, 9th and 10th Amendments to the Constitution.

(2) An order restraining the Democratic National Committee from "resorting to further threats and attempts to compel the imposition of the so-called 'Fairness Doctrine' on the operation of the plaintiffs' radio facilities."

(3) A $5-million settlement from the Democratic National Committee for damages caused the station by harassment.

The suit alleges that the Fariness Doctrine is vague, and thus infringes upon "a fundamental principle that Congress may not in the absence of clearly ascertainable criteria delegate its legislative function to an administrative agency."

Furthermore, the rights of free speech, assembly and petition are alleged to be violated because the doctrine requires a station owner to provide free time for replies to paid broadcasts. This "cost," moreover, "constitutes a taking of property of the owner by reducing the number of users of such facilities" and, as such, can be likened to a violation of due process.

The suit also charges that this giving of free time is "a clear violation of the Federal Corrupt Practices Act . . . by compelling and requiring a corporation to make an unlawful and illegal political contribution or expenditure to a political campaign or election of federal officials."

The suit reveals the sort of pressure tactics used to harass conservative radio stations.

The Red Lion Broadcasting Co., which operates radio stations WGCB AM-FM in York County, never had much trouble with the FCC until the FCC's amplification of the Fairness Doctrine on July 26, 1963. This amplification (see *Human Events*, page 12, Oct. 31, 1964) was clearly directed against station owners carrying conservative broadcasts, as it singled out for attack those programs favorably treating "Americanism, anti-communism and states rights."

The Rev. Mr. Norris, Red Lion Broadcasting's principal stockholder, was originally granted the customary three-year operating license to run WGCB in 1950 and the FCC continued to renew the license without trouble until the Fairness Doctrine amplification. Then the harassment began:

From September 1963 to May 6, 1965, the commission granted the license only on a month-to-month basis because, it said, it was investigating the station's compliance with the "doctrine." The Democratic National Committee formally filed a complaint against the station with the FCC, repeatedly making requests for free time from June 1964 to January 1965. On Feb. 10, 1965, the FCC notified the Rev. Mr. Norris that it was formally investigating the charges of the Democrats. This compelled him to enter into extensive, time-consuming correspondence with the FCC.

Only after Norris' counsel, Robert Manuel, threatened the FCC with a suit (which has now been filed anyway) did the FCC finally dismiss the Democratic Committee's charge. And only after it was safely past the 1964 presidential election did the FCC permit Norris to have the customary three-year operator's license.

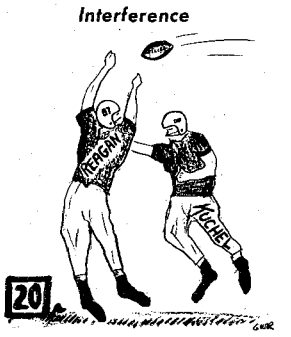
During this interval, however, the station says it lost many advertisers because they did not like dealing with a station whose license was renewed only on a monthly basis. Furthermore, other advertisers were scared off by the intense campaign the Democratic National Committee waged against the station and the conservative programs it carried.

Hence, the importance of this suit. If the courts uphold the charges and kill the Fairness Doctrine, conservatives will have scored a significant victory.

'Terrible Tommy's' Tantrum

Politicos in the Capitol are calling Sen. Thomas Kuchel (R.-Calif.) a "sore loser" for his bitter blast at the conservative wing of the California GOP last week. After bowing out of the state's 1966 gubernatorial race because he couldn't win it himself and after calling upon Republicans to rally behind a "moderate" candidate, the assistant Republican floor leader launched a massive smear attack. He called California's conservative Republicans a "fanatical, neo-Fascist, political cult, overcome by a strange mixture of corrosive hatred and sickening fear, recklessly determined to control our party or to destroy it." (Snapped one Republican: "Is this Kuchel's famous 'moderation'?")

Interference



While the papers appeared to take Kuchel's hysteria at face value, wise pros in the Capitol were remarking that it was really "terrible Tommy's" last ditch attempt to "rule or ruin." The sad fact, say these politicos, is that Thomas Kuchel may well have reached the end of the political road.

His influence with Republicans in the Senate—despite his title—is minimal. His influence with the California GOP has continually slipped. He campaigned hard for Rockefeller over Goldwater in the 1964 California Republican presidential primary—and lost. He refused to campaign for actor George Murphy—and Murphy captured a seat in the Senate.

Worst of all, the reliable California Field poll revealed in August that a majority of Republicans would reject old-timer Kuchel in favor of Ronald Reagan in any GOP gubernatorial primary. Indeed, Kuchel's remarks are interpreted as being aimed squarely at Reagan who has the best chance of any conservative in beating the Democrats.

Thus, Kuchel's declining grip on the party is said to be the real reason for his outburst. By launching a major campaign against his opposition, the ultra-liberal senator hopes to regain some of his lost power. (Kuchel's aims are being helped, interestingly enough, by other disgruntled Republicans who don't like Reagan's popularity—among them, opportunist Goodwin Knight. A liberal when governor, he has been complaining that Reagan is both too liberal and too conservative.)

Editorialized the Chicago *Tribune* on Kuchel's remarks:

"When Kuchel revives this climate of near-hysteria and pins it on the Republican party in his home state, under whose auspices he supposedly was elected,

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he is engaging in the same divisive tactics that ruined the Republicans in 1964. The only one who can benefit is the Democratic governor, Edmund G. 'Pat' Brown."

But "sore loser" Kuchel doesn't seem to care.

Neighborhood School Victory

The day of politicians courting civil rights radicals may be coming to an end. That, at least, is the comment of one savvy observer of the startling primary victory of Mrs. Louise Day Hicks, the controversal chairman of the Boston School Committee, which oversees the primary and secondary schools in Massachusetts' famous capital.

Mrs. Hicks, an ardent opponent of achieving racial balance in the schools through public busing, has long been the favorite target of liberals and civil rights revolutionaries.

Some national newspaper columnists became so alarmed about her anti-busing attitude that they accused her of creating another Watts. Moreover, there were stories that she was not only losing whatever popularity she might have had with Negro citizens, but was also losing her influence among whites.

But last Tuesday Mrs. Hicks shocked the experts. In Boston's primary elections, which included 16 candidates for the five-man Boston School Committee, Mrs. Hicks led the pack. At the last count she had garnered an unprecedented 54,100 votes out of some 60,000 cast—over 90 per cent.

This means the supposedly unpopular Mrs. Hicks will be a shoo-in for a third term in office in the November election.

Nor is this all. Not only did she win by a whopping margin, but she even carried some predominantly Negro precincts, including many in the North Dorchester area. There, in fact, she led a Negro candidate whose last name is identical with that of a prominent civil rights leader. The Negro's name is Melvin King.

Even more ironic is the fact that she carried the area surrounding the predominantly Negro Gipson grade school, one of the schools from which professional agitators on September 9 attempted to transport Negro children to white schools. (While these agitators claimed these schools were overcrowded, Mrs. Hicks contended that in the areas where they practiced "Operation Exodus" the pupil-per-teacher ratio was the lowest in Boston. Furthermore, she says the fact that only 200 out of 23,000 Negro children participated in "Operation Exodus" proves the "overcrowded" issue was much overworked.)

While much of the press has tried to give Mrs. Hicks an "anti-Negro" image, she says her opposition to compulsory busing to promote some sort of "racial balance" is based solely on her interest in maintaining a strong neighborhood school system. She also says no pupil from outside a neighborhood should be able to displace a student who lives in the neighborhood where the school is located.

• The Boston primary was also a substantial victory for those opposed to urban renewal. In the race for City Council, a number of renewal opponents won the right to be on the general election ballot in November, with two urban renewal foes coming in second and third out of the 10 top vote-getters.

'Handsome Johnny's' Smear

Rep. John Lindsay, favored by some politicos to win the New York mayoralty contest, appears to be running scared. The ultra-radical Lindsay, who has spent more money than all other candidates combined (including those in the primary), is now spearheading a smear campaign against the conservatives backing William F. Buckley Jr. Buckley has little chance of winning, but he could get enough votes to cause "handsome John," a nominal Republican, to lose to Democrat Abraham Beame.

Only two weeks ago Lindsay forces gave a story to the New York *World-Telegram*, charging that Lindsay campaign workers were being victimized by "vicious right-wing hate tactics." The "right-wingers," supposedly, were Buckley supporters. Among the hate tactics they reportedly used: smashing windows, slashing telephone lines, destroying mail and writing poison pen notes. The *Telegram*, joining in the smear, bannered the story on page one: "Hate Tactics Hit Lindsay." On the inside pages, the story was headlined: "Rightists Harass Lindsay Workers." One day later, Lindsay called a press conference at the Roosevelt Hotel to repeat the charges of vandalism.

The story, however, proved to be nothing but pure Lindsay smear. For while Lindsay and his fright-peddling aides at first pinned the blame of vandalism on Buckley and his supporters, their memories became glazed when asked about specifics.

Had they reported these "hate tactics" to the Fair Campaign Practices Committee? No. Why? "Because," noted the *World-Telegram*, "they do not feel the perpetrators can be clearly identified." Did they report these vicious doings to the police? No. As a New York *Times* reporter, also skeptical of the charges, wrote: "A spokesman for the police department said there was nothing to indicate that any of the alleged acts of vandalism had been reported." Would Mr. Lindsay care to list what Lindsay offices had been damaged by vandals? No, again. "The candidate declined to specify the offices that had been damaged," said the *Times*.

Buckley adamantly denied he or his followers had anything to do with any alleged incidents, saying if any vandalism occurred it was the cause of "crackpots." And Lindsay, he emphasized, had nothing to fear from crackpots, but "a great deal to fear from rational and intelligent men." Asked his definition of a crackpot, Buckley replied, "One who thinks Mr. Lindsay has had anything interesting to say."

Reds Exploiting Watts

The authoritative West Coast anti-Communist paper, *Tocsin* (5765 Claremont Ave., Oakland, Calif.) which says it may go out of business in October if it can't obtain further backing, has provided new information regarding Communist exploitation of the Watts riots. According to *Tocsin*, an intriguing outfit calling itself the South Side Citizens Defense Committee has gotten into the act.

The Citizens Defense Committee, publicized by the Communist *People's World*, has held a meeting with relatives and friends of the jailed rioters and is agitating for their release. The CDC is operating from an office at 326 W. Third St., Los Angeles—the same address, curiously enough, of the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, cited in 1960 as a Communist-front organization by the Subversive Activities Control Board.

Notes Tocsin: **"Associated so far with the organization are Hursel W. Alexander, an identified Communist who was formerly California State legislative director for the Communist party, and Fred Allen Cannon, who attended the Los Angeles Communist party convention in 1957, according to an investigation by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. . . .**

"Significantly, Alexander in 1949 was executive secretary of the East Bay Civil Rights Congress, an Oakland Communist front which focused on the racial agitation theme and described its purpose in the June 10, 1949, *People's World* as part of 'the campaign against Oakland police department brutality.'"

Where the Leftists Are

Is socialism popular in the United States today? Liberal Harvey Swados, in an article in *The Nation's* anniversary issue, says definitely yes.

There is, he declares, "more excitement about socialism in this country than there has been for perhaps as long as 30 years. No one can estimate closely the numerical increase in committed Socialists of one kind or another; but it is perfectly obvious that those who consider themselves Socialists are not only out in the open, but aggressively confident in promoting their beliefs as they were not during the McCarthy era, the war, or even in the '30s.

"Socialists are active in the AFL-CIO and as consultants to the social welfare programs of the Johnson Administration; Communist 'spokesmen' tour the campuses; Trotskyists defend their right to employment at public jobs. Particularly among young people, the fear of being labeled radical, leftist, or subversive seems to have disappeared."

CAPITOL CAMERA

• The immigration bill passed the Senate last week and, for the first time in history, clamped a ceiling on Western Hemisphere immigration. The bill now goes to a Senate-House conference where Rep. Emanuel Celler (D.-N.Y.) says he will work hard to repeal the limitation. But lawmakers, though keeping their fingers crossed, say they think the ceiling will stick since the President has indicated he will go along with it. Credit for the ceiling is going to Senators Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.) and Sam Ervin (D.-N.C.).

CELLER

• *The voters of Rehobeth, Mass., assembled in town meeting, recently rejected participation in the federal anti-poverty program. Republican selectman John L. Waterman explained: "It's an ideological question of whether we believe we can take care for ourselves or should have Washington take care of us."*

• Rep. Wayne Hays (D.-Ohio) has refused to serve as a congressional delegate to the upcoming session of the United Nations. In a letter to Chairman Thomas E. Morgan (D.-Pa.) of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Hays said he could not "conceive of my own self as being a Charlie McCarthy to Ambassador Goldberg's Edgar Bergen." The Ohio Democrat said he would "not feel right in having my speeches written or censored by Ambassador Goldberg or, for that matter, any other member of the executive branch." Citing a third reason, Hays said that Goldberg's explanation to the House Foreign Affairs Committee on the decision to drop the U.N. dues fight was "the poorest presentation made to the committee in my 17 years in Congress."

HAYS

• *Testimony made public last week by the Senate Internal Security subcommittee revealed that Red Chinese agents are moving into Latin America in ever-greater numbers and may enter the United States through illegal immigration. The subcommittee published the testimony of Jules DuBois, Latin American correspondent for the Chicago* Tribune*; Stanley Ross, editor of* El Tiempo *of New York; and Cuban refugees Enrique and Emilio Navarro. DuBois told the subcommittee that more than 3,000 Communist Chinese enter Cuba each year and that an unknown but sizeable number also enter other Latin American countries, perhaps illegally.*

• The Chicago *Tribune* revealed last week that the Johnson Administration spent $3.1 million on the domestic peace corps in the fiscal year that ended June 30 and had 202 trained volunteers on that day to show for it. At the same time Sargent Shriver's Office of Economic Opportunity listed 120 salaried employes in its domestic peace corps division—more than one employe for every two volunteers in the field. The Administration is asking $24.5 million for the domestic peace corps in the current fiscal year.

SHRIVER

• *GOP Senate Leader Everett Dirksen last week predicted victory in the upcoming battle to preserve section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act. "Our chances of victory are as good as they can be," he said. "We have the votes to win."* *(For more on right-to-work, see page 9.)*

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Is the 'Great Society' Just Alice's Wonderland?

By MORRIE RYSKIND

Boy and man, I've had many a chuckle over the wonderful nonsense of Lewis Carroll. The adventures of Alice with that delightful group of kooks who inhabit Wonderland and the utterly logical illogicality of their double talks, I was certain, would never lose their charm.

But that was while the characters remained within the realm of fiction. Somehow, as they come to life in this queer era and the King rules over a court that includes the Mad Hatter, the March Hare and Humphrey-Dumphrey, I am—like Queen Victoria—not amused. In fact, I'm scared stiff.

Not that the King isn't a hard-working fellow. After all, he appears on TV more often than "Peyton Place" and, like the other stars, he has to rise early to study his lines, see that his clothes are properly pressed, and put on his make-up. And he has to do all this in the dark, because the lights are off in his studio for reasons of economy. His electricity bill is probably now $14 a month under Eisenhower's and that's not bad campaign material.

But he knows his way in the dark though, under the circumstances, one left hand might find it hard to know what the other was doing. He speaks his lines with authority, even if you cannot rely on the dictionary to decipher them. In Wonderland, as Carroll pointed out, the words mean only what the speaker chooses them to mean—and sometimes that's anybody's guess.

Thus not long ago we were promised —and got—a tax cut that left the puzzled taxpayer just a little worse off than before, if he hadn't read the fine print.

And now we have an education bill that will insure the best of professors and equipment for the colleges and provide every one of us, regardless of sex, creed, color or previous condition of ineptitude, with a Ph. D.

Yet we offset this boost for higher learning by passing what amounts to a bill of attainder against certain states and compel them to allow their citizens to vote even if they can only sign their names with an X. Still, that's all any of us is allowed to mark his ballot with, come to think of it.

The Chief Justice, at a conference on world peace, talks solemnly of respect for international law. Yet, if there's a riot, we immediately appropriate millions to improve the lot of the rioters—but not one cent of tribute for the widows and orphans of the police and the firemen who died preserving law and order.

It is still considered extremely bad form to point out any weakness in the United Nations, that ever-loving body of peaceful states to which both India and Pakistan belong. The solution for any difficulties, according to some eminent March Hares, is to admit non-violent Red China: then everything will be hunky-dory.

Secretary Rusk boasts we have alliances with some 42 nations, but these are apparently unilateral. We have been trying to get our allies to help out in Viet Nam, but some have responded by shipping food and what might be considered war material to Hanoi.

The Administration's heart bleeds for the embattled farmer. But here in California, thanks to government interference, a large part of our tomato crop was lost because there was no one to pick it. (I said pick it—not picket.) Yet all the while able-bodied men nearby were drawing relief pay—which, of course, is non-taxable and requires no stoop labor.

And, in line with this reasoning, I have just read an article by a California savant who deems the Young Republicans unfair in denouncing Sen. Thomas Kuchel as a pseudo-Republican. He produces figures to prove that, out of 100 rollcalls last year, the senator voted 40 per cent of the time with his party. What do those YRs demand, in heaven's name, a passing mark?

When those young extremists argue that the GOP whip has deserted his party, they are promptly charged with juvenile delinquency. But what was it when Kuchel refused to endorse either Goldwater or George Murphy in the latter's Senate race—middle-aged delinquency? Careful. That unsound conclusion would mark you as a far-out right-winger. Think it over, calmly and illogically, and you'll get the right answer.

Incidentally, we have a new Republican splinter group here—this one composed of "moderates" who think 40 per cent is pretty high—and its president, on TV the other night, refused to say whom he'd voted for in 1964, contending that was his private business. This would be the ideal guy to be out ringing doorbells for you.

At least, that's what the Mad Hatter would say.

(Copyright 1965, Los Angeles *Times*)

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BEATNIK CORPSMEN – Texas Christian University officials report that 55 Peace Corpsmen, who attended language classes there this summer, were a "disgrace to the campus and to the federal government." The corpsmen were pictured by university spokesmen as filthy "beatniks" who left their dormitory rooms in a "dirty state," littered with trash and empty beer cans. Replied a Peace Corps official in Washington: "This was a remarkable group of young people, outstanding by any standards."

How McNamara Has Bungled Manned Orbiting Laboratory

By BARRY GOLDWATER

If there ever is a Pearl Harbor in space, Robert McNamara must share in the responsibility.

Fumbled defense planning of Defense Secretary McNamara has once again backed Lyndon Johnson into a decision. The President's recent announcement about a Manned Orbiting Laboratory is nothing more than the repercussion of years of McNamara mismanagement.

Here is how it all came about.

Back in 1958, the Air Force first proposed the MOL concept as one tool to help ascertain a military role in space. Military experts have known ever since the first rocket blasted off that there must be such a role.

To deny such a role now would be the same as it was in denying Billy Mitchell's call for military aviation after the development of the airplane. And that's just the position McNamara has been in all along. He has, virtually single-handedly, put this country years behind in developing a military role in space.

Throughout President Johnson's Administration there have been funds available for the MOL concept. But Lyndon Johnson's pet Cabinet officer, Robert McNamara, has virtually ignored the congressional appropriations. The program has remained close to dead center despite the constant concern of military men.

Under McNamara, military men have always been treated as second-class citizens. Their pleas for MOL have definitely fallen into that category.

Congress became so impatient with McNamara's foot-dragging that it wrote into this year's appropriations a special order specifying that MOL funds could not be shuffled into other areas such as one of the Defense Department's many pet projects on disarmament.

The current appropriation for MOL is about $150 million with a $1-billion total having often been mentioned for the entire project. When the President suddenly announced his support, the price tag went up to $1.5 billion, probably another tribute to the cost of McNamara's dilly-dallying.

Very recently the Air Force's internationally respected research wizard, Gen. Bernard Schriever, was publicly voicing concern over the fate of MOL. Then, suddenly, the President announced his support. Why?

First of all, it must have become apparent even to President Johnson that McNamara had pulled a king-sized boner in downgrading MOL. Recent Soviet announcements of similar efforts finally brought it into the open.

The President undoubtedly could foresee hot and heavy political criticism if the sorry record of McNamara's role in MOL was exposed. And not even the awe that President Johnson professes for McNamara could be expected to overcome his awe at the prospect of criticism.

So the President acted. Just what his action will mean is still uncertain. He has emphasized that MOL will be directed toward peaceful rather than military research. If so, its value will sharply be diminished and little if anything will have been done to build a shield for freedom in space.

Also disturbing, to any who realize the life-or-death gravity of this situation, is the glib way in which the MOL announcement was posed as something brand new, thus obscuring the grim facts of delay and diversion that have put us so far behind in this vital mission.

Space, which may well be the frontier of our defenses in this troubled century, is no place to play politics.

(Copyright 1965, Los Angeles *Times*)

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CULTURE—A Pole was being questioned by a Communist party official and was asked whether he was interested in cultural events. "Oh, yes," replied the man, "I like to go to the movies." "And what films do you prefer?" asked the official. "Soviet films," the man answered. The party official rubbed his hands with delight. "Fine, that is the right party spirit. And now tell me why you always go to the movies when a Soviet film is shown." "Because only then can I get a good seat," the man replied.—As told by North American Newspaper Alliance writer Jerry Klein

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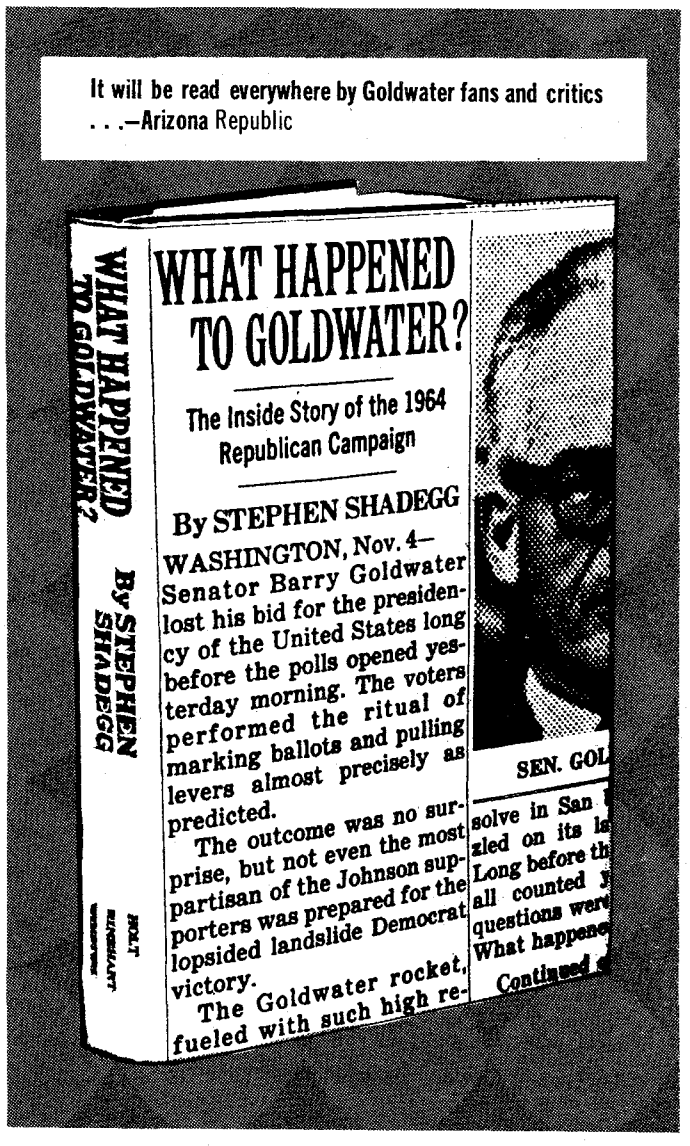

Why, we've all asked ourselves again and again, was Goldwater so badly beaten? Until now, none of us have known the whole answer—the answer that might make the difference between defeat and victory next time.

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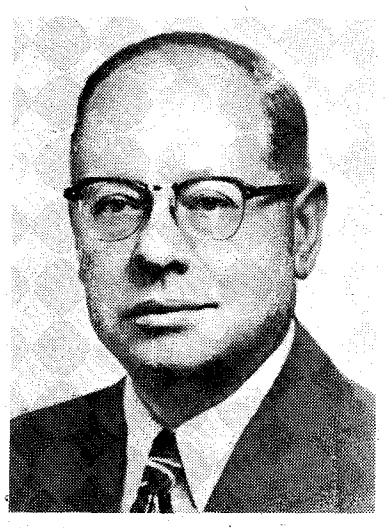
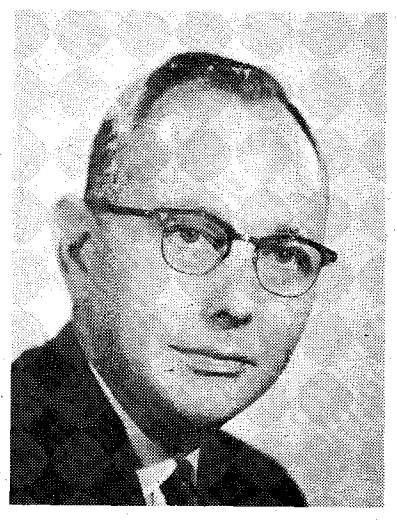
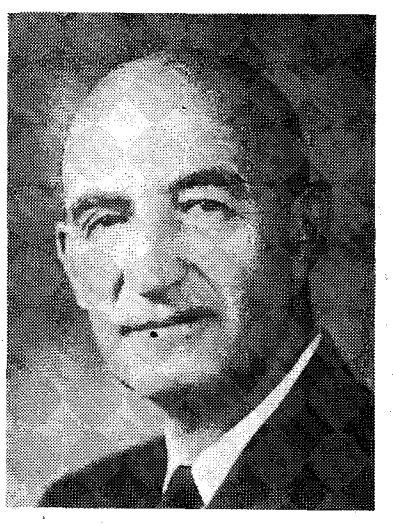


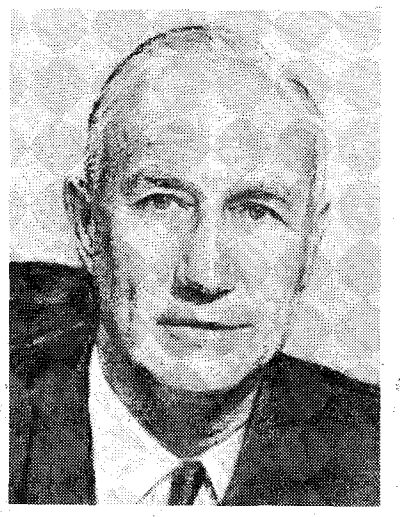
Carl Curtis (Neb.)



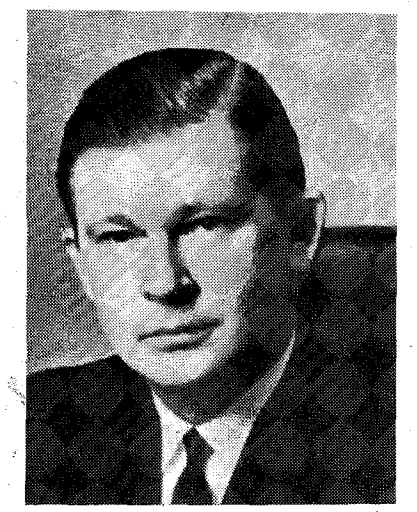
Jack Miller (Iowa)



Milward Simpson(Wyo.)



Strom Thurmond (S. C.)



John Tower (Tex.)

Staunch Conservative Dissenters

The Five Senators LBJ Most Wants to Defeat in '68

By WILLARD EDWARDS in the Chicago *Tribune*

"Why does that fellow always vote against me?" President Johnson demanded recently in a conversation reported by a Senate leader. "What does he want?"

The President frequently expresses in similar words, his callers report, a sense of exasperation over the vote of the small minority in Congress who have opposed portions of his legislative program.

That program, involving innovations and precedent-breaking experiments, is now rolling to a triumphant conclusion. Except on a few minor occasions, Congress has voted its approval by staggering majorities.

But the stubborn resistance of a minority, however minute, baffles Johnson. He is not so much angry, his listeners assert, as mystified by the motives which impel men of seeming intelligence to resist proposals which he considers manifestly designed to improve the national welfare.

The President seems unwilling to believe that members of Congress may have honest, philosophical objections to welfare state proposals. He seeks more practical reasons for obduracy.

"Is he after a job for himself or someone else?" he inquired about a Republican leader who had denounced and voted against one of the President's "must" measures. "Tell him to come and see me."

Puzzled and Hurt

The invitation, with its implication of a political bribe, was ignored. The President was described as both puzzled and hurt. Certain aspects of human behavior defy his comprehension, and one of them is a refusal to sense the benefits to be derived from flexible convictions.

If members of Congress cannot be induced to reason, they are not worthy of the office, the President believes. In pursuit of that theory, he now is using his impressive political talents to obtain the removal of at least five Republican senators in next year's election.

Fourteen Republican senators are up for reelection next year. The five who have particularly irked the President by stubborn resistance to his blandishments are: Jack Miller of Iowa, Carl T. Curtis of Nebraska, Milward L. Simpson of Wyoming, John Tower of Texas, and Strom Thurmond of South Carolina.

In the five states where they will seek new six-year terms, powerful Democrats, including at least two governors, have been placed under White House pressure to become candidates for the Senate.

Some of these reliable vote-winners now are comfortably secure in state offices, and are reluctant to gamble their careers in a Senate race where victory would not be certain. They have good reason, however, to dread presidential disapproval if they refuse to sacrifice themselves for the good of the party.

This message has gone out—the President regards the congressional elections in 1966 as a national plebiscite on his program. He is determined to increase, if possible, the already overwhelming Democratic majorities in the two houses—68 to 32 in the Senate, 294 to 141 in the House.

Can Only Go Up

Such a result would be contrary to the tradition of "midterm elections" —those held midway of a presidential term—which customarily record gains for the party out of power. Republicans, reduced to their lowest congressional numbers in 30 years, have nowhere to go but up and hope they are headed in that direction.

But Johnson delights in breaking traditions and the midterm pattern was broken in 1962 when Republicans gained only two seats in the House and lost four in the Senate.

Johnson already has taken the first step in strengthening party organization by summoning his Capitol Hill political chief, Lawrence F. O'Brien, to service in his Cabinet. As postmaster general, O'Brien will use that office as it was used by Jim Farley and other Democratic National Committee chairmen to fortify the Administration's vote-seeking apparatus.

Postmaster General Larry O'Brien is expected to use his office to defeat GOP senators, says Willard Edwards.

Here are the plans outlined for defeat of five GOP senators:

In Iowa, Gov. Harold E. Hughes, the strongest Democratic vote-getter in the state's history, is being urged by the President to run against Sen. Jack Miller, Republican, the incumbent. This conflicts with the desires of state leaders who want Hughes to seek a third two-year term as governor. He ran well ahead of Johnson in 1964 elections and his popularity, more than the Johnson candidacy, accounted for a Democratic sweep of the state.

In Nebraska, another popular Democratic governor, Frank B. Morrison, is being pressed to oppose Sen. Carl T. Curtis, Republican. Here also, state leaders would prefer that Morrison seek a fourth two-year term as governor. Curtis would have trouble with Morrison, but otherwise observers see little difficulty for him in seeking reelection.

Makes Black List

In Wyoming, Sen. Simpson has gained the White House black list because of his uncompromisingly conservative attitude. He may be opposed by Rep. Teno Roncalio, Democrat, by State Supreme Court Justice John J. McIntyre, a conservative Democrat, or Mike Manatos, an aide to President Johnson, who is reported to have been given the President's go-ahead. Big funds are being amassed for their candidacies.

In Johnson's home state of Texas, the continued presence of a Republican senator, John Tower, for long has been offensive to the President. Tower was the first GOP senator since Reconstruction days. A host of candidates have been lined up to run against him.

Gov. John B. Connally, expected to announce his political plans in the near future, may oppose Tower, seek reelection, or retire. He is engaged in a feud with Sen. Ralph W. Yarborough, Democrat, which could help Tower's fortunes. Other strong candidates for the Senate are available, and Texas remains an overwhelmingly Democratic state. Tower has a tough campaign ahead of him.

Thurmond Special Target

In South Carolina, Strom Thurmond will be up for reelection, and he is a special White House target because he resigned from the Democratic party in September 1964, at the height of the presidential campaign, declaring Johnson as a traitor to the principles upon which the party was founded.

Thurmond is so strong that no prominent South Carolina Democrat has shown interest in challenging him, but money and effort will not be spared in a campaign to remove him.

In all, 14 Republican senators are up for reelection. Of the remaining nine, eight appear safe. Only Sen. J. Caleb Boggs, of Delaware, seems in danger. The others, generally favored if they seek reelection, and most of them will, are:

Gordon Allott, of Colorado, Len B. Jordan, of Idaho, James B. Pearson, of Kansas, John Sherman Cooper, of Kentucky, Margaret Chase Smith, of Maine, Leverett Saltonstall, of Massachusetts, Clifford P. Case, of New Jersey, and Karl E. Mundt, of South Dakota.

Six Demos in Trouble

On the other side of the aisle, six of the 20 Democratic senators up for reelection face the prospect of strong opposition, either in primaries or in the general election. They are:

John J. Sparkman, of Alabama, Donald S. Russell, of South Carolina, Maurine B. Neuberger, of Oregon, Pat McNamara, of Michigan, Lee Metcalf, of Montana, and Thomas J. McIntyre, of New Hampshire.

All are faithful supporters of the "Great Society" and will have the backing of a political machine which can call upon the immense resources of a government which spends $127 billion a year.

LBJ View on Defeat

The President has made it clear in talks with congressional leaders that he will take as a personal affront any defeat of a Democratic candidate or any victory for a Republican.

Most Presidents would be content with 2-to-1 majorities in Congress, but Johnson would like to see 3-to-1 margins or even higher. He has never concealed his aversion for opposition in any form, even from a weak minority.

When he was majority leader of the Senate and summed up the work of a session, he reserved his most lavish phrase for unanimous votes. They were, he emphasized, the highest form of political expression.

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Moment of Truth Approaches

Freedom Can Still Win Right-to-Work Fight

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

There is still time to write your senator urging him to support the filibuster against 14b repeal.

A moment of truth approaches rapidly now, in the fight over repeal of Section 14b. If Sen. Dirksen and his bi-partisan troops demonstrate the will and the discipline for a truly "extended discussion," they may be able to preserve intact the principle of state right-to-work laws. If they fail, this section of the Taft-Hartley Act will be wiped out, and organized labor will have collected its campaign bill.

The pressures from labor get rougher with every passing day. There is at hand a letter from William R. Cloud, secretary-treasurer of the International Typographical Union, addressed on September 1 to Virginia's Sen. A. Willis Robertson. It begins with a curt "sir," and directs the senator's attention to an address by the ITU's President Elmer Brown at the mid-August convention of the printers' union. This is what Brown had to say:

"It has been called to my attention by some of the delegates who have been visiting U.S. senators from their various states, that there seems to be a tendency on the part of some of the senators, who are allegedly our friends, to sit on the proposed amendment to the Taft-Hartley law which would eliminate Section 14b. These alleged friends are under great pressure, undoubtedly, but we should not let them forget that we of the labor movement put them in office.

"I think at this time we should state at this convention that those members of the U.S. Senate who were selected on the ticket with President Johnson on a platform to repeal 14b will either discharge their obligation or we shall mass our forces and discharge them at the next election.

"I think the delegates from this convention should express themselves in no uncertain terms to the senators who are now weakening, that we shall not only express our feelings here, but we shall express them also at our local union meetings and the entire labor movement if necessary. The ITU will take part in mobilizing delegations that will make the civil rights demonstrations look like Sunday school picnics.

"Our patience is about exhausted with being double-crossed and the senators ought to know that they cannot double-cross the labor movement again and get away with it."

In a final paragraph, Brown acknowledged that it would be "even more difficult" to get a repeal bill passed in 1966. The union members, he said, "are not going to tolerate dilly-dallying tactics." And Secretary Cloud closed with a reminder to Sen. Robertson that the printers' convention had concurred unanimously in the statement of President Brown.

Sen. Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.) and two dozen colleagues plan 14b filibuster.

The Virginia senator, who comes up for reelection next year, was visibly moved by the ITU's letter, but he was moved rather closer to apoplexy than to submission.

Meanwhile, some counter-pressures are being exerted from the other side. These are being channeled primarily through the National Right-to-Work Committee, which represents individuals and businesses dedicated to voluntary unionism as opposed to compulsory unionism. A few days ago the committee released some sobering figures on what repeal of 14b would mean in the 19 right-to-work states.

Among other things, said the committee, repeal would impose union membership automatically upon 250,000 non-union workers in the 19 states. These are men and women employed in plants in which contracts already have been negotiated containing contingent union shop clauses.

In Texas, organized labor would pick up 34,000 captive members the moment 14b is repealed. In Alabama, unions would gain 60,000 members, in Georgia 20,000, and in Kansas 25,000. At the rate of $60 per worker per year, AFL-CIO income in the 19 states would reach a total of some $120 million annually.

High stakes; and all the Right-to-Work Committee can put in the pot against them are the principles of a voluntary society. On this issue—compulsion vs. freedom—the fight will be waged. Freedom can win it yet.

(Washington *Star* Syndicate)

More Lopsided Labor Law: Allis-Chalmers Strike Case

From the Chicago *Tribune*

The U.S. Court of Appeals here has handed down a decision which illustrates again how far labor law has departed from the harsh reality of labor union practices.

The case originated in Wisconsin, where two locals of the United Auto Workers conducted strikes against the Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Co. in 1959 and 1962. During each strike some members of the union crossed the picket lines and went to their jobs. These workers were tried by the unions and fined from $25 to $100 each.

The fined workers appealed to the National Labor Relations Board, charging that their rights under the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin Acts had been violated. The board rejected the plea, holding that the unions had a right to impose the fines.

The Allis-Chalmers Co. took the case to the Court of Appeals, which upheld the NLRB decision. The court declared the Taft-Hartley Act was "not intended to immunize a union member from discipline for defiance of a decision of the majority to strike." The court went on to say that if a union could not discipline members for strikebreaking activities, it could not discipline them for a wildcat walkout, and thus production security provisions of industrial contracts would be meaningless.

The court evidently thinks that every union is controled by members through democratic processes, that sweetness and light reign at union meetings, and that wildcat strikes invariably are staged by rebels against wise statesmen in the top union offices.

It's not that way in real life. Union meetings are poorly attended, and small cliques make the decisions. Sometimes one man makes decisions for thousands of workers affecting a whole industry. Union leaders often circumvent the conciliation provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act by calling strike votes months before the expiration of union contracts. Workers then may be strongly opposed to going on strike, but they are persuaded to vote for a strike "to strengthen the hand" of the union bargaining committee.

As for wildcat strikes, these are rarely called without the approval of the union leadership, even though the leaders may publicly profess to deplore them. Breaches of discipline are as rare in labor unions as in the army. Members know their jobs, their pension rights, their personal safety, and the safety of their wives and children depend on absolute obedience.

The Taft-Hartley Act gave workers the right to engage in "concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid and protection"—to go on strike. But the act also gave workers "the right to refrain from any or all of such activities except to the extent that such right may be affected by an agreement requiring membership in a labor organization." There is nothing in the law which gives unions the right to fine members who refrain from striking.

The Taft-Hartley Act specifically exempts supervisors from the collective bargaining machinery, even though the supervisors may be members of the union. During many strikes, supervisors remain on duty to care for equipment or to maintain partial operations. Presumably the new court decision would permit unions to fine supervisors for crossing the picket lines.

In the building industry many contractors retain their union memberships. Are they now subject to fines if they cross a picket line during a strike of their employes?

Many industries employ workers belonging to several unions. If one union goes on strike, and other unions call sympathy strikes in violation of their contracts, can members be fined for refusing to join the illegal sympathy strike?

Labor unions already have almost unlimited ability to coerce and intimidate their fellow workers. They hardly need the authority to impose fines.

New NLRB Ruling

Unions Can Penalize Members For Seeking Secret Elections

From the *Weekly Labor Forecast and Review*

Just when Congress is debating union-sponsored legislation to repeal Taft-Hartley Section 14b and thereby invalidate state right-to-work laws which protect employes against compulsory unionism, the National Labor Relations Board has again ruled that unions can penalize employes for seeking a secret NLRB election to determine whether a majority still want a union.

The board ruled on charges brought by an individual employe against a local of AFL-CIO United Steelworkers at a plant of Pittsburgh-Des Moines Steel Co., in Santa Clara, Calif.

The union had a union shop contract with the company requiring all employes to become members. When one of the employe members filed a petition with the board requesting an election to determine whether a majority still wanted the union, the union suspended him from membership and precluded him from attending union meetings for five years. It also imposed a fine of $500 plus costs of the hearing, but the fine was withdrawn on his appeal.

The employe filed charges with the NLRB, alleging that the union's action coerced and restrained him in the exercise of his statutory rights to file a decertification petition. The board, however, rejected this contention and dismissed the complaint, relying on its decision in the Tawas Tube Products case.

In the Tawas case, the board held that a union could expel a member for filing a decertification petition with the board. There it reasoned that such petitions are of such serious "union concern" that unions must be permitted to protect themselves by penalizing employes. In referring to "union concern" it apparently had in mind the fact reflected in its own statistics that unions lose some 70 per cent of decertification elections.

The effect of the board's decision is to discourage and prevent employes from exercising their statutory right to file a petition for a secret board election to determine whether a majority still want a union, although this is the method Congress provided for this purpose.

This broad doctrine, together with the repeal of Taft-Hartley Section 14b as demanded by unions, would not only force employes to join against their will, but also severely restrict and in many instances nullify for all practical purposes their right to get rid of a union when a majority no longer want it.

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Reuther-Meany Feud Sizzles at Labor Conclave

By VICTOR RIESEL

A ferry sank in the Gulf of Gabes off Tunisia last summer, and the political waves churned up by the loss of lives are now billowing over a hostelry here in New York City, where American labor's high command is meeting.

If that ferry had not sunk there might not now be a low-key, but tough, show-down between the maverick Walter Reuther and the major-domo of the House of Labor, George Meany. But the ship went down and the feud sprang up just at the moment when the high command is selecting some 10 to 12 labor leaders to replace veterans on the Executive Council.

The newcomers will help shape labor policy for decades. So though unknown now, they'll have heavy impact on the nation.

The ferry in this script went down between Sfax and the Kerkennah Islands. It was owned by a cooperative firm. On its board of directors was Habib Achour, then general secretary of the General Federation of Tunisian Workers. After the dead and missing were counted, it was discovered that the cooperative organization had not kept its insurance in order.

There was an outcry from the bereaved. Soon the Tunisian government deprived Achour of his parliamentary immunity. On July 3 he was arrested and heaved into the brig at Sfax.

This was just a few days before Meany, Reuther and almost a score of U.S. labor chiefs were scheduled to take their seats at an international labor congress in Amsterdam. Though this gathering of world labor leaders, speaking for over 60 million workers, generally receives little news coverage, it does affect the course of nations.

When Meany and company met there in the first U.S. closed caucus to decide policy, as is traditional at conventions of all kinds the world over, they discussed the Tunisian affair.

Their friend Achour would be kept in jail by Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba—whom the American labor chiefs had once helped get out of a French prison.

Thus the imprisonment of their friend Achour was doubly irritating. Furthermore, he should have been leading the Tunisian labor delegation. But President Bourguiba would not release him. Instead there was another delegation to replace Achour and his loyal colleagues.

The American caucus unanimously decided to fight the seating of the new delegation. That unanimity included Walter Reuther's vote, too.

When the time came for public vote at the congress, Reuther bolted. He did not advise Meany or others in the delegation. The auto union chief simply took public issue with Meany, who was head of the U.S. labor delegation, and voted against its position.

Meany's previous frank talk about the Socialists and cookie-pushers among the foreign labor leaders had not exactly made him the most popular man there before the sessions opened. Thus he

AFL-CIO President George Meany (left) and United Auto Workers' chieftain Walter Reuther.

lost face in the global congress as the famed Reuther took open issue.

It was as though President Johnson had cast a bloc vote in the United Nations on some issue and Hubert Humphrey had arisen to tally against him.

The next American caucus was a loud one. The big seafarers' leader Paul Hall, Meany's staunch ally, charged that their national chief had been positioned. Reuther said he had voted according to his conscience. Hall, who never will be forgiven, retorted that it was more indigestion than conscience. The verbiage was slightly different.

Until that labor congress Reuther and Meany had gotten on well. For the first time there seemed to be an alliance between the hard-hitting traditionalist Meany and the classically militant Reuther.

They had not exactly been Damon and Pythias. But there had been unity. The ferry boat saga smashed that—permanently, according to insiders. The real issue, of course, had been the breaking of caucus discipline and the egg-on-the-face position of the rest of the delegation.

Reuther and Meany have met since. They ran into each other at a White House presidential stag dinner and in labor's national headquarters. Nobody hit anybody. There were pleasantries.

But behind the closed doors of labor's high command sessions the pleasantries will be gone, as vital policies affecting the movement and the nation are hammered out.

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House Passes Arts Bill, 251-128

By voice vote on September 15, the House of Representatives passed a bill (H.R. 9460) establishing federal assistance to the arts and humanities at the rate of $20 million a year for the fiscal years 1966-68. (For more on this measure see Human Events, *September 4, page 2.) Before the final voice vote, the following rollcall was taken on a motion by Rep. Robert Griffin (R.-Mich.) to recommit (kill) the bill; thus a "yea" vote is a vote against the Johnson Administration.*

Democrats

for: 49

Abbitt
Ashmore
Bandstra
Baring
Bennett
Burleson
Cabell
Casey
Cooley
Davis (Ga.)
de la Garza
Dorn
Dowdy
Downing
Duncan (Ore.)
Fisher
Flynt
Fountain
Gathings
Gettys
Hagen (Ga.)
Haley
Hamilton
Hardy
Henderson
Herlong
Jarman
Lennon
Long (La.)
McMillan
Mackie
Marsh
Matthews
Murray
Natcher
Passman
Purcell
Roberts
Rogers (Tex.)
Satterfield
Selden
Smith (Va.)
Taylor
Tuck
Tuten
Waggonner
Weltner
Whitener

Republicans

for: 79

Anderson (Ill.)
Andrews, Glenn
Arends
Ashbrook
Baldwin
Bates
Battin
Belcher
Betts
Bow
Bray
Brock
Broomfield
Broyhill (N.C.)
Broyhill (Va.)
Buchanan
Byrnes
Callaway
Carter
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Clancy
Clawson, Del
Collier
Cramer
Curtis
Davis (Wis.)
Devine
Dickinson
Dole
Duncan (Tenn.)
Edwards (Ala.)
Erlenborn
Findley
Ford, Gerald
Goodell
Griffin
Gross
Gubser
Gurney
Hall
Halleck
Hansen (Idaho)
Harsha
Harvey (Ind.)
Harvey (Mich.)
Hosmer
Hutchinson
Johnson (Pa.)
Jonas
King (N.Y.)
Laird
Langen
Lipscomb
McCulloch
McEwen
Martin (Neb.)
Minshall
Mize
Morton
Nelsen
Poff
Quie
Quillen
Reid (Ill.)
Rhodes (Ariz.)
Robison
Rumsfeld
Shriver
Skubitz
Smith (Calif.)
Stanton
Talcott
Teague (Calif.)
Thomson (Wis.)
Utt
Watson
Wilson, Bob
Younger

Democrats

against: 207

Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Annunzio
Ashley
Aspinall
Barrett
Beckworth
Bingham
Blatnik
Boggs
Boland
Bolling
Brademas
Brooks
Burke
Burton (Calif.)
Byrne
Callan
Cameron
Carey
Celler
Chelf
Clark
Clevenger
Cohelan
Conyers
Corman
Craley
Culver
Daniels
Dawson
Delaney
Dent
Denton
Dingell
Donohue
Dow
Dulski
Dyal
Edmondson
Edwards (Calif.)
Evans
Everett
Farbstein
Farnum
Fascell
Feighan
Flood
Fogarty
Foley
Ford, Wm. D.
Fraser
Friedel
Fulton (Tenn.)
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Gilligan
Gonzalez
Grabowski
Gray
Green (Ore.)
Green (Pa.)
Greigg
Grider
Griffiths
Hagen (Calif.)
Hanley
Hanna
Hansen (Iowa)
Hansen (Wash.)
Harris
Hawkins
Hays
Hechler
Helstoski
Hicks
Holifield
Howard
Hungate
Huot
Ichord
Irwin
Jacobs
Jennings
Joelson
Johnson (Calif.)
Johnson (Okla.)
Jones (Ala.)
Karsten
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kee
Kelly
Keogh
King (Calif.)
King (Utah)
Kirwan
Kluczynski
Kornegay
Landrum
Leggett
Love
McCarthy
McDowell
McFall
McGrath
McVicker
Machen
Mackay
Madden
Mahon
Matsunaga
Meeds
Miller
Minish
Mink
Moeller
Monagan
Moorhead
Morgan
Morris
Morrison
Moss
Multer
Murphy (Ill.)
Murphy (N.Y.)
Nedzi
Nix
O'Brien
O'Hara (Ill.)
O'Hara (Mich.)
Olsen (Mont.)
Olson (Minn.)
O'Neill
Ottinger
Patten
Pepper
Perkins
Philbin
Pickle
Pike
Powell
Price
Pucinski
Race
Randall
Redlin
Resnick
Reuss
Rhodes (Pa.)
Rivers (S.C.)
Rivers (Alaska)
Rodino
Rogers (Colo.)
Rogers (Fla.)
Ronan
Roncalio
Rooney (N.Y.)
Rooney (Pa.)
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roush
Roybal
Ryan
St. Germain
St. Onge
Scheuer
Schisler
Schmidhauser
Scott
Secrest
Shipley
Sickles
Sikes
Slack
Smith (Iowa)
Staggers
Stalbaum
Steed
Stephens
Stratton
Stubblefield
Sullivan
Sweeney
Teague (Tex.)
Tenzer
Thompson (N.J.)
Todd
Trimble
Tunney
Udall
Ullman
Vanik
Vigorito
Vivian
Walker (N.M.)
Watts
White (Idaho)
White (Tex.)
Willis
Wilson, Charles
Wolff
Yates
Young
Zablocki

Republicans

against: 44

Andrews (N.D.)
Ayres
Bell
Berry
Burton (Utah)
Clausen, Don
Cleveland
Conable
Conte
Corbett
Cunningham
Curtin
Dague
Dwyer
Ellsworth
Fino
Fulton (Pa.)
Grover
Halpern
Horton
Kunkel
Latta
McDade
Mailliard
Mathias
Michel
Moore
Mosher
O'Konski
Pelly
Reid (N.Y.)
Reifel
Reinecke
Saylor
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Springer
Stafford
Tupper
Watkins
Whalley
Widnall
Wyatt
Wydler

War on Poverty Tom-Toms Don't Beat for the Indians

From the Nashville *Banner*

In the "Great Society" skit now playing by command performance all over the country, Uncle Sam—politically stylized now in cowboy boots and a ten-gallon hat—waves a wand and miracles happen. The magic words aren't abracadabra, or "Open Sesame," but "Scat, Poverty!" and "Bloom, Roses!"

How goes it with, and toward, the aborigines? What is the record of all this federal stewardship of abundance and Washington-directed uplift in the one case of absolute authority therewith assumed?

An editorial in the Minneapolis *Tribune*—published out close to them—mentions the continuing plight of reservation Indians. It says: "Today the government has a number of programs designed to improve the health and livelihood of Indians, many of whom exist in poverty on isolated reservations where past federal policies put them. But one old problem apparently still lingers—federal red tape."

- Then it mentions the case of 28 Mille Lacs families who last year moved into new government-financed houses—an experimental program to upgrade living standards. The housing was sponsored by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, but the installation of water and sewer facilities was a Public Health Service responsibility.

- They still have no water in these new homes, and the *Tribune* reports that they will have to live through another winter without it. Why? What is so complicated about the installation of plumbing that bureaucrats just can't master it?

Associated Press writer Sid Moody is doing a series on the Indian case. He mentions that statistics are grim where these reservation Indians are concerned. Infant mortality there is 70 per cent higher than the U.S. average. Life expectancy is eight years less. Unemployment runs at 50 per cent.

Read on: Average income is about half of what the government figures as the poverty level. Ninety per cent of the homes are substandard. Eight per cent of the home dwellers haul their own water, some as far as 10 miles; and 80 per cent of them could not afford low-rent government housing even if it were available.

That is a pitiable circumstance as described. The point is that these are the people over whom the federal government always has exercised complete stewardship and for whose initiative the wondrous magic of bureaucracy was substituted.

So, "Scat, Poverty!" "Bloom, Roses!" It still comes out "Abracadabra," changed only by the size of the burgeoning bill attached.

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A National Guardsman helps elderly lady across street after Watts rioting.

Notes After Watts

'Liberator' Magazine Bemoans Lack of 'Revolutionary Group'

From the Richmond *News Leader*

After the post mortems galore on the Los Angeles insurrection, one more epilogue might seem to need an apology. What we present now, however, is not our own, but the analysis of an odd magazine called *Liberator*. What follows, bear in mind, is not from some smudgy tract, printed furtively in a basement and distributed at midnight meetings in lofts.

Liberator **is sold openly at the best Northern book stores. It is a smoothly printed, professionally designed publication which includes on its masthead such darlings of the best liberal salons as Len Holt, LeRoi Jones and James Baldwin.**

In an article said to have been written before the riots, *Liberator* attacks the Los Angeles poverty programs as a sop thrown out by the vested interests to "those who have little, if any, economic stake in the American imperialist system." *Liberator* urges a much more drastic program:

"While Johnson talks of making $2,500 loans to small farmers, we could not only be advocating, but also organizing land expropriation and agrarian reform. 'Work training' could be replaced by demands for nationalization without compensation of the basic industries backed up by the seizing of factories through sit-downs of unemployed workers who would be 'paid' through the expropriation of company funds, etc. As these direct action struggles grow, so would police violence. Areas of the black ghettos in the North and mountainous mining and rural farming areas of the East and South would become liberated from government control by revolutionary self-defense militias. Gradually a Black Power Structure would grow up to challenge and eventually replace the present power structure which will grow weaker and more Fascistic as it becomes more involved in the wars and depressions towards which it is heading."

Having urged its readers to "join, rather than follow" in the world-wide struggle for "scientific socialism," *Liberator* laments, after the riots, that the "freedom fighters" of Watts had not been prepared ideologically for the task. The magazine's theorists say that "the masses" were fighting *against* white control of the black community, but not *for* black control.

"This was due to the lack of a revolutionary group, with real roots among the people, to explain to the people what they are fighting for and to organize that fight. If this group had existed, large areas of the community could have been liberated from police control, and stores and factories, rather than being burned, could have been seized and made the property of the people. This organization did not exist, and so we had an uprising instead of revolution. Also the point must be made that, even if a revolutionary black government had been established in southeast L.A., it would have fallen unless it had spread to other cities. Revolutionary organization must not only be community-wide, but also nationwide. Let us declare a 'Year of Organization' among our people in the ghettos of the North."

Such statements, of course, are a strident exercise in hyperbole. What Liberator means is not that there was no organization, but that the organization was not yet strong enough.

Chief Parker testified to an investigating committee that there was indeed an "organization" at work during the destruction, distributing ready-made incendiary bombs and directing the mobs with battery-powered megaphones. Less than one per cent of the Negroes of Los Angeles were involved in the riots, according to Chief Parker; but they were the ones who were roused to the brink of violence and beyond by one who, in the *Liberator's* sneering words, was "the pork chop 'preacher' from Atlanta, Ga., getting a much needed sun tan in Puerto Rico."

□ □ □

THE PRESIDENT is going to start signing bills with less expensive pens. It might be a good idea if the legislation were cheaper too.—Senator Soaper Opines, in the Omaha (Neb.) *Evening World-Herald*

Little David and the CBS Goliath

By PAUL HARVEY

"Conservatives intend to take over the CBS network."

In print, that sentence sounds at least like a brash boast, at worst like a tub-thumping threat. But when you hear the sentence uttered by soft-spoken, mild-mannered David Dye, you're inclined to keep listening.

Mr. Dye is a west Texas businessman who didn't like what he heard and saw on network television and decided to do something about it.

"CBS," he says, "is the worst offender. Its other programs emphasize violence, crime, brutality, sadism and sex."

So Mr. Dye bought 200 shares of CBS stock, said he would get a thousand other persons to buy 200 shares each. If each of these thousand will recruit 20 others to do the same, "we will control 4 million shares, more than enough to gain control of the network."

The skeptic wants to know, "Are you trying to run up the price of CBS stock and then sell?"

"I am the only person in this effort who cannot possibly profit," explains Dye. "The terms under which the SEC authorized me to launch this proxy fight specifically limit my participation as an investor."

Since David Dye decided to take on the CBS Goliath early this year, CBS has added 13,000 new stockholders. "We are confident," says Dye, "that most of these are 'our people.'"

In Lubbock, Tex., David Dye and his equally dedicated wife—parents of two children—are now devoting full time to the project. Each mailing is approved in advance by the SEC: Dye is determined not to allow any slip which might discredit or sidetrack his proxy fight at the CBS stockholders meeting in April.

"We might have to hire Yankee Stadium for all the people who will want to attend," says Dye.

Asked if he is prepared for disappointment if he falls short of the proxy votes needed to unseat the entrenched management, Dye says, "If we don't beat them this April, we will beat them the April after. Meanwhile, tens of thousands of stockholders will be a sobering influence on the network's liberal administrators."

Dye calls his effort, "Medias Unlimited, Inc."

After CBS, he hopes conservatives, shown the way, will similarly seek to control other information facilities and news media, but his initial primary objective is CBS and its far-flung TV radio and film properties.

The FCC says there are no rules to prevent such a take-over.

CBS President William S. Paley and a brother-in-law, Leon Levy, and the present board of directors own a combined total of 2.8 million shares.

"That," says Dye, "is only 14 per cent!"

(Copyright 1965, General Features Corp.)

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PROGRESS—U.S. troops in South Viet Nam are getting paid in scrip instead of real money. It's a trend. Over here Congress already has voted to switch from silver to slugs.—By Lyn Nofziger in the San Diego *Union*

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Prof. Morison's New Book

A Naval Historian Invades Unfamiliar Waters

By FREDERIC NELSON

There is some wonderful stuff in Samuel Eliot Morison's *Oxford History of the American People* (Oxford, $10), like the anecodote about how Gouverneur Morris took a bet by Alexander Hamilton that he would not slap George Washington on the back and say, "How are you today, my dear general?" And I go along with his verdict that "the American Revolution was not fought to *obtain* freedom, but to *preserve* the liberties that Americans already had as colonials." Keep him in the 18th Century or the first three quarters of the 19th and Prof. Morison does almost as well as he did in the 15th with his hero, Columbus. But when he begins to write the history of the times the rest of us are living in, that old Harvard liberal tinge shows through.

You can discount the gratuitous sneers at Joe McCarthy (not really vicious, but enough to maintain membership in the liberal lodge), but it might be expected of an objective historian that, in recounting the Teapot Dome affair and the scandals of the Harding-Coolidge Administration, he would mention the fact that it was Republican Cal who appointed Owen Roberts, then a leading Philadelphia lawyer, to prosecute the malefactors.

Nor do I think it quite cricket to mention the "missile gap" smear of the 1960 Democratic campaign without indicating clearly that this canard was spread by the Kennedy campaign managers. To write "It was said" that there was a missile gap, without saying who said it, is rather sloppy work for a pro historian.

All this may be fairly trivial. A writer is entitled to his *obiter dicta* and to observations which come into his work casually and by-the-by. But when he gets around to the New and Fair Deals, Frontiers, Revolutions and "rising expectations," Prof. Morison leaves history to one side and lets the reader have it with both barrels of "liberal" propaganda. Like this:

"Many and dire were the prophecies that the New Deal, Fair Deal, and especially TVA marked the beginning of the end to free enterprise, that 'creeping socialism' would smother the American Way of Life. Republican orators played this theme in elections and in Congress, and they found support from three eminent economists, F.A. Hayek, John Jewkes and Joseph C. Schumpeter who, like the witches in *Macbeth*, prophesied that each deviation from economic truth would propel a nation irresistably into socialism, and from socialism to some form of police state. Over 20 years have elapsed since the first of these weird sisters uttered his gloomy prophecy on the barren health of the dismal science; yet our economic Macbeth is still Thane of Glamis."

Nevertheless, after demolishing the three weird sisters and disposing of their predictions, Prof. Morison hardly lets a paragraph pass before indicating that Hayek, Jewkes and Schumpeter might not have been so stupid after all. Like this:

"Pricing, sales and investment no longer depend on the 'verdict of the market,' as in laissez-faire days. Transportation services, public utilities and fuels are now so much under public regulation in the United States, or nationalized in Canada, that pricing is done by administrative decision, not by what businessmen think the market will take. [Well, not altogether true—yet. F. N.] Free venture capital has diminished, owing to high income taxes and social pressure to spend rather than save . . . . In no really big American industry is competition permitted to carry through to its logical end . . . .

"From top executive to lowest stevedore, everyone wants a steady job, producing predictable goods at a predictable cost, to be sold at a predictable price. That is what the country means by security, not the guarantee of liberty that it meant in the 18th Century." **(Amazed italics mine.)**

"Individuals," concludes the professor, "are free to start new businesses, individuals and companies are free to buy and sell, expand or retrench and in other ways pursue their self-interest, but within a framework of rules established by government and labor unions, and under the high taxation of corporate incomes—38 per cent in the United States, except for very small units."

American free enterprise may be holding on as Thane of Glamis, but if Prof. Morison had gone into a little more detail about the "rules established by government and labor unions," or "pricing done by administrative decision"—matters which he treats with a dash of cavalier condescension—even he might have wondered whether the Thane of Glamis had much chance of promotion to Thane of Cawdor.

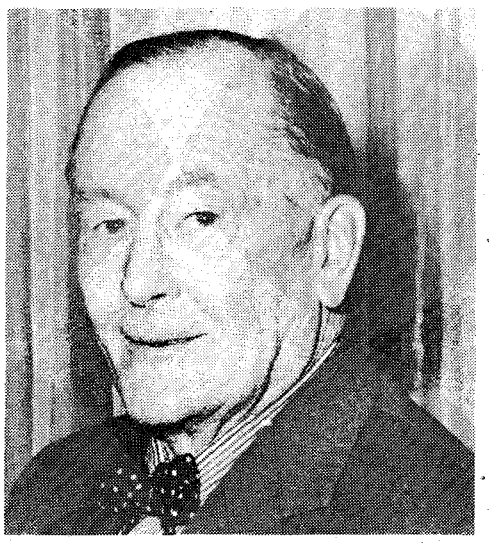
Even before the end of his labors on this really informative book, you can hardly laugh off "creeping socialism" without giving at least a passing Hi-there! to urban renewal under which a man's property can be taken over by the government, razed to the ground and the remains handed over to somebody else to profit from.

Even Hayek probably failed to predict that a National Labor Relations Board would have power to forbid the owners of a plant to move their factory to another area if an escape from union dictatorship was assumed to be the motive—or power to order the reemployment of strikers who had damaged the property and assaulted loyal employes!

And there is certainly a suggestion of Socialist ideology in laws denying to home owners the right to dispose of their property as they see fit, within the limits of sanitary and zoning regulations.

Perhaps most discerning of all, Schumpeter believed that socialism would come about, not because of its merits, but because of the ineptitude and indifference of those whose interest should have caused them to oppose it. If many supposed free enterprise people still fail to recognize socialism when it stares them in the face, their acuity will not be sharpened by Prof. Morison.

Prof. Morison finished the book in 1964 and can be let off for failing to mention the "Great Society's" anti-poverty program and the extraordinary proposal that the government shall help people pay their rent, in case one quarter of their incomes doesn't take care of the cost of the house or apartment they have set their hearts on. I suppose the to-be-expected bonanza to the real estate business could be described as a capitalistic side effect, but surely the main idea is the classic Socialist doctrine: "From each according to his ability [or what's left of it—F.N.], to each according to his need" [as figured by bureaucrats—F.N.].



Historian Samuel Eliot Morison

In respect to the current mania for highway construction, Prof. Morison does smell a rat which eludes him when he concerns himself with other forms of federal largess.

"Politicians love to appropriate money for new roads," he writes, "they can tip off their friends to profit by land-taking, curry favor with contractors by voting extra funds for non-contractual alterations, and with labor for overtime. The urge to get out of the city is ruining the city; gaping holes are torn through it to make room for urban expressways. No home is safe, no distinguished architecture of the past is spared; no amenities such as century-old trees by a quiet riverside are respected."

Well, Prof. Morison, it's not only the expressway urge. That's how socialism creeps, whether in respect to regulating the minutia of business practice or the destruction of trees by quiet riversides. From now on, with political supports built in since Prof. Morison ceased from his labors, the pace should move from creep to canter.

The "one-man, one-vote" dictum for state legislatures (what of the U.S. Senate's two votes, one state?) will remove the last barrier to foolish radical legislation, the last place where sober second thought might have a chance to operate, and say "End of Detour."

The abolition of literacy and other tests to require some semblance of responsibility as a qualification for voting can be counted on to reduce our politics even farther toward the level of mob decision than it has arrived at already. Of course, the use of these tests to deny the franchise to Negroes or other racial groups is an evil which should be exorcised, but only a politician dependent on the suffrage of an uninformed and purchasable mass would favor abolishing them altogether. Even the poll tax has never seemed to me an outrageous admission price for the privilege of voting—provided it was fairly administered. In Maine, payment of the poll tax is required of applicants for automobile registration. I've not heard of a Southern state that went as far as that!

At the moment, of course, millions are making some money and spending more, and few remember Hayek, Jewkes and Schumpeter even enough to laugh at them. But the way things are going, it won't be long before the ordinary productive, conservative and forgotten citizen may find himself feeling as Ralph Waldo Emerson felt after the Whigs collapsed before the wonderful nonsense of the Harrison-Tyler campaign in 1840. (Prof. Morison provides this quote, too):

"The real life and strength of the American people find themselves paralyzed and defeated by the hordes of ignorant and deceivable natives and the armies of foreign voters who fill Pennsylvania, New York and New Orleans . . . . The creators of wealth, and conscientious, rational and responsible persons find themselves degraded into observers, and violently turned out of all share in the actions and counsels of the nation."

Well, things didn't turn out quite as badly as that in the years after Tippecanoe and Hard Cider. Even Emerson found himself a little farther to the left. But today the U.S.A. is supposed to be a wise and sophisticated nation with enormous responsibilities, and no time for fooling. Therefore, while it would be futile to expect a Harvard professor to thump a tub for conservatism, it is disappointing to find one as competent most of the time as Prof. Morison fudging so badly the significance of what's happening.

Frederic Nelson, a frequent contributor to Human Events, *retired in 1961 as chief editorial writer for the* Saturday Evening Post. *A 1916 graduate of Harvard, he was an editorial writer for the Baltimore* Sun *from 1929 to 1942, the year he joined the* Saturday Evening Post *as an associate editor. He was the* Sun's *London correspondent in 1931-32. He won the Freedoms Foundation Award for editorial writing in 1951.*

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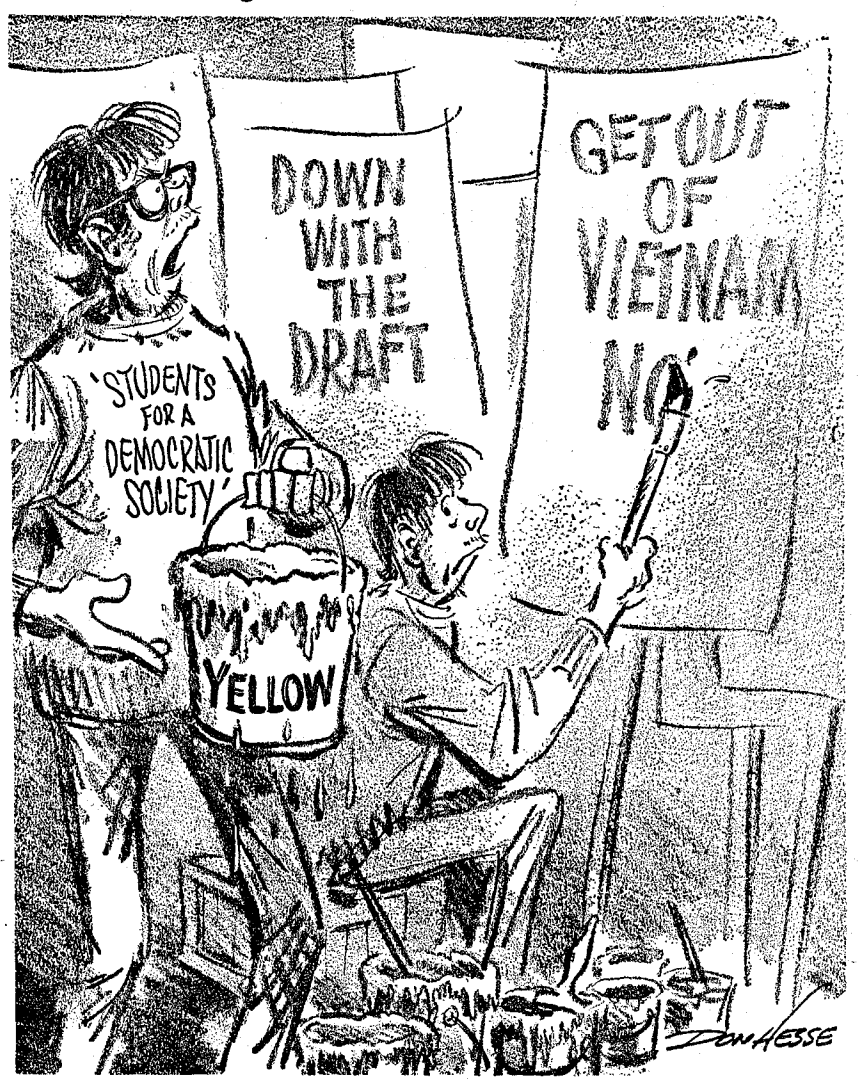

Courtesy St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

Limit Needed on All Immigration

From the Arizona *Republic*

Liberals have long advocated a change in the fundamental policy controlling immigration into the United States. They are opposed to the national origins system under which a foreign country is given a quota based on the number of persons from that country in the United States in 1920.

An immigration bill abolishing national origins has passed the House and a vote is expected soon in the Senate. The measure, fully effective after July 1, 1968, would permit 170,000 immigrants annually on a system of priorities based on the skills of the applicants. Spouses and children of U.S. citizens would be admitted without limit, and all natives of the nations of the Western Hemisphere would be exempted from the provisions of the immigration bill.

When it reaches the floor of the Senate the bill will have a ceiling of 120,000 immigrants annually from the Western Hemisphere. A similar amendment was beaten in the House, but there is a fair chance it will be kept in the bill by the Senate [see page 5].

We think the numerical limitation on immigration from Latin American nations should be passed. As the minority report in the House Judiciary Committee put it, to place the nations of the Western Hemisphere "in a highly preferred position to that of the natives of the more than 100 countries in the rest of the world" would be "illogical, unwise, shortsighted and inconsistent."

The liberals who advocated getting rid of the national origins system always argued that it was an affront to nations that had small quotas. We never felt this argument deserved serious consideration. Our own hallmark for legislation is the national interest. However, if the national origins system is to be killed (and it obviously is) then we are opposed to any system favoring our Latin American friends, much as we respect the people of Latin America and their contributions to the building of the United States.

If foreign opinion is more important than our own desires in forming immigration policy, let's not make all the countries outside the Western Hemisphere angry. Unless, of course, we are aiming at an immigration policy that pulls down all bars. Then we ought to exempt everyone, not only our friends south of the border.

SDS Borders on Treason

From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

Students for a Democratic Society, a radical-leftist movement with more than 100 campus chapters, is mapping out plans to encourage and assist thousands of college students who oppose the Viet Nam war to declare as "conscientious objectors" and thus avoid their military obligations.

If the program is successful, it will of course give immense comfort and encouragement to the Communist enemies of this nation—even while we are spending increasing amounts of American blood and treasure in a heroic effort to see to it that the South Vietnamese people do not have a Communist government imposed upon them by force.

In our estimation, the generators of this movement come quite close to being traitors to the United States.

These exponents of a "democratic society" are apparently undisturbed, even delighted, at the prospect of all of Viet Nam falling under the type of "democratic" regime which flourishes in Hanoi and Peking.

If these people were not blind and unreasoning radicals, they could see at a glance that the greatest enemy of the freedom of the human mind, the freedom of the individual, is today in Communist Asia, and that an American pullback from Asia would mean domination for decades of these people by the type of philosophy which quite literally murders dissent.

It is because this is so obvious, because the national debate on Viet Nam has been exhaustive, because the bloody record of the Viet Cong atrocities is so well known, that such efforts to sabotage the American commitment to the Vietnamese people are so stomach-turning.

These are the youth who have been deferred from military service, who have been the beneficiaries of an unrivaled number of scholarships and grants, who have enjoyed more individual freedom and material prosperity than any other students in history—and now they come cackling about "Twentieth Century United States imperialism!"

Anyone but a complete jackass could reason to the conclusion that no truly imperialist power, with as much to lose as the United States, is going to risk a massive land war in Asia just to set up a few military bases or for control of a puppet government of generals in a backward and remote corner of Asia, good only for growing rice.

No, but the United States will risk a major war in Asia, will send more than 125,000 of its sons into the jungles and rice paddies to honor its word to a few million Asian peasants depending on it, because that is the type of government and country this is—and that honorable commitment shines all the brighter when placed alongside the sniveling sedition of a handful of pompous academic parasites.

We have listened to these puling students making their snide derogations at our country and our society for so long that we are tempted to ask them why they don't just get out of the United States and go join their Brave New World in Peking, Hanoi, Havana, Moscow and East Berlin.

There are millions of men and women in these lands quite willing to shed a little blood to swap places and enjoy the freedoms this pack of ingrates is abusing daily.

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SALES TO REDS—LBJ has dispatched a seven-man trade mission to the Communist-bloc countries of Poland and Rumania. The mission, due back in the U.S. October 16, will seek to peddle electrical equipment, synthetic fibers, machine tools and other goods to the Reds.

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LBJ LIBRARY—Although the University of Texas is building the LBJ library to hold the President's official papers, the federal government will be spending $190,000 a year to maintain the building.

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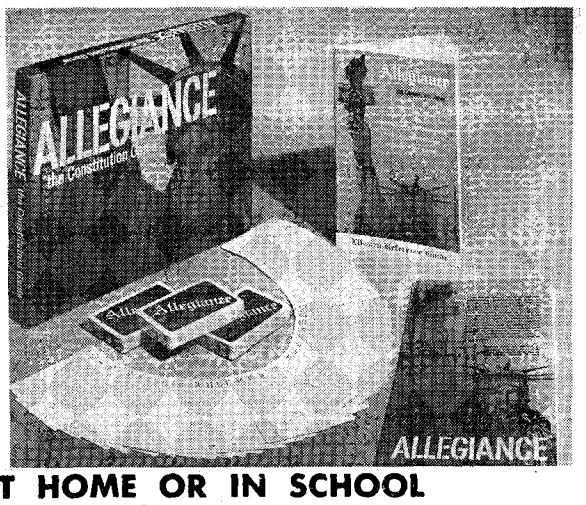

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CONTENTS

Anti-Poverty Funds Used to Pay Black Muslims—By Fulton Lewis Jr. 2
Would You Trade with Nazis?—From the Chattanooga News-Free Press 2
Chinese Reds Fear War with U.S.—By Victor Lasky 3
Whose Game Is Bowles Playing?—By Russell Kirk 3
Is the "Great Society" Just Alice's Wonderland?—By Morrie Ryskind 6
How McNamara Has Bungled Manned Orbiting Laboratory—By Barry Goldwater 6
The Five Senators LBJ Most Wants to Defeat in '68—By Willard Edwards in the Chicago Tribune 8
Freedom Can Still Win Right-to-Work Fight—By James Jackson Kilpatrick 9
More Lopsided Labor Law: Allis-Chalmers Strike Case—From the Chicago Tribune 9
Unions Can Penalize Members for Seeking Secret Elections—From the Weekly Labor Forecast and Review 9
Reuther-Meany Feud Sizzles at Labor Conclave—By Victor Riesel 10
War on Poverty Tom-Toms Don't Beat for the Indians—From the Nashville Banner 10
'Liberator' Magazine Bemoans Lack of 'Revolutionary Group'—From the Richmond News Leader 11
Little David and the CBS Goliath—By Paul Harvey 11
A Naval Historian Invades Unfamiliar Waters—By Frederic Nelson 12
Limit Needed on All Immigration—From the Arizona Republic 13
SDS Borders on Treason—From the St. Louis Globe-Democrat 13
King Backing Down on Foreign Policy—From the Allen-Scott Report 14
Coming Up: New 'Progressive Party'—By Alice Widener 14
Spotlight on Congress 15

King Backing Down on Foreign Policy

From the Allen-Scott Report

Dr. Martin Luther King is having second thoughts about his loudly proclaimed crusade for Red China's admission to the United Nations and negotiations with the Viet Cong.

The turbulent civil rights leader is piping down on this as he did on his equally stentoriously hooplahed economic boycott of Alabama earlier this year. After garnering widespread headlines on that, King quietly stopped fulminating and nothing has been heard of it since.

The same thing is now happening on his fanfare campaign to bring Peking into the United Nations and to bring the United States and Viet Cong to the negotiating table.

Behind this latest flip-flop are a number of factors, foremost among them:

• Mounting bitter backstage criticism and opposition from responsible civil rights leaders, including some in his own organization, to directly linking their embattled domestic movement with highly explosive foreign issues.

• The decades-old Logan Act, which expressly prohibits private individuals from meddling in foreign affairs—such as writing Hanoi's Communist ruler, Ho Chi Minh, as King announced he planned to do. King has been pointedly told this would violate the law and lay him open to prosecution.

• Strong possibility of a congressional investigation that would include King's personal as well as public activities. Certain congressional leaders have long had such a probe in mind. The charge that King was flouting the Logan Act could trigger this investigation.

(Distributed 1965 by the Hall Syndicate, Inc.)

Coming Up: New 'Progressive Party'

By ALICE WIDENER

Looming nearer and nearer on the American political scene is a new Progressive party similar to that of 1948 but with a new name and new presidential candidate to replace Henry Wallace. This is the underlying reason for organization of the teach-ins and demonstrations against President Johnson's policy in Viet Nam. Perhaps this is the underlying reason for the highly critical speeches about the Johnson policies in Viet Nam and Santo Domingo made by Sen. J. William Fulbright of Arkansas, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

It is improbable that Sen. Fulbright himself would be leader of the new 1968 Progressive party (or whatever its name will be). But it seems he is now its spokesman on foreign policy. However, the senator's vote against the civil rights bill—concerning which the "progressives" prefer to remain silent—strikes him out as the alter ego of Henry Wallace. It may be that Sen. McGovern could fill the Wallace role, or Sen. Clark of Pennsylvania.

At any rate, the organization of the new political party is now taking place, as I predicted in my columns of several months ago.

Where is tangible evidence—a reader might ask—of this "third party" political move among the ultra-liberals of the Democratic party and the United Left? Well, this evidence is now to be found in New York City, headquarters for the party's propaganda and fund-raising.

Recently the ultra-progressives of the same kind as exerted not-so-hidden control over the Wallace campaign in '48, published a scholarly work in three volumes designed to be the strategy and tactics manual of the new political party. The work is entitled *Gideon's Army* and the author is Prof. Curtis D. MacDougall of Northwestern University. It is published by the firm of Marzani & Munsell, Inc., New York. Carl Marzani, head of the publishing firm and formerly of the U.S. Department of State, emerged in 1955 from a federal penitentiary to which he was sentenced for a three-year term after his conviction for perjury in the early 1950s for having denied his Communist party affiliations in documents relating to his employment with the U. S. government.

The publisher's statement for *Gideon's Army* declares the three-volume work is "an important part of the living history of this tragic, yet hopeful, era, illuminating, as history should, the present's path to the future . . . . In 1948, the American people had an opportunity to bring about a change in American foreign and domestic policies that paved the way to our present maze of entanglements. The Progressive party embodied that opportunity. What was its origin; who were its leaders; why did it fail; what lessons can be culled from that failure? There is a relationship between the events of 1948 and embroilment in Viet Nam, Santo Domingo, and elsewhere . . . the ideas of 1948 —were the heart of the foreign policy debates forced by Henry Wallace's candidacy . . . the last time that such debates took place on a national scale in more than 15 years. Today, finally, those debates are resuming with the Washington and campus teach-ins."

To the "progressive" the relationship between 1948 and 1968 is that between President Harry Truman's policies in Greece and Turkey and President Johnson's policies in Viet Nam and Santo Domingo. The 'progressive" will not tolerate anti-communism.

The front page of the Marzani & Munsell propaganda piece carries an endorsement of *Gideon's Army* given by Prof. Staughton Lynd, history department, Yale University, who says, " . . . there might have been no Bay of Pigs, no Viet Nam, no Santo Domingo . . . if the ideas of the third party in 1948 had prevailed. Gideon's Army is part of American history, and history remains the best tool for understanding current problems. Those ideas of 1948 are alive today."

Prof. Lynd was arrested recently in Washington, D.C., for having tried to break through police barricades at the Capitol during the demonstrations against President Johnson's policy in Viet Nam.

The first volume of *Gideon's Army* bears an introduction by Prof. H. H. Wilson of Princeton University. The Marzani & Munsell propaganda piece was distributed widely at the First Annual Conference of Socialist Scholars which took place at McMillin Theater on the Columbia University campus during the weekend of September 11-12, 1965.

There is no doubt that a leading group of ultra-progressive intellectuals at the nation's leading universities is now mobilizing its resources for organization of the new "third party" on the left. On Saturday night, September 11, a fund-raising affair was held for this purpose. It is said that a rich tax-exempt foundation is financing Socialist gatherings, under the guise of "educational" activity, to create the new political party's background and set its strategy.

In 1948 Prof. Curtis D. MacDougall of Northwestern University was a senatorial candidate of the Progressive party. Marzani & Munsell say his book "covers Wallace's decision to run and it presents hitherto unavailable material on the persons and forces which influenced Wallace, including the role of the Communist party."

Perhaps it might be a good thing for a new "third party" of the ultra-left to emerge into the open now in our country. The American people are much better informed about communism and socialism now in 1965 than they were in the period 1945-1948.

A main trouble in the United States has been the people's failure to know who's who on the left because the leftists have rarely come out into the open, especially in the intellectual and academic communities, for what they really are. When they do so now, most Americans won't make generous allowance for "dupes." There is no excuse for a politician or academician to be "duped" by Reds now or in 1968.

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SPOTLIGHT on CONGRESS

"The U. S. policy in dealing with communism in the Dominican Republic has proved to be a matter of one step forward, two steps backward. A few more applications of this policy, and we may step backwards into oblivion."—Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.)

LBJ's Conferences

By REP. DURWARD HALL (R.-Mo.)

Recent articles, one in the summer issue of the *Columbia Journalism Review* and the other in the current issue of the *U.S. News and World Report,* point up the increasing concern by many responsible journalists and our people in particular over the degeneration of the presidential news conference. Well now, in my opinion, the presidential news conference was never intended as a forum for "image building" or politics but rather as a means whereby the free press could seek answers to important issues facing the nation or the people. Under the Johnson format, the "show business" aspects take precedent over the information aspects. It's been pointed out, for example, how the President's staff attempts to find out in advance what reporters may be planning to ask "unfriendly" or controversial questions. And these reporters are, more often than not, ignored when they seek recognition. Correspondents are often asked to choose between disrespect for their reading public and disrespect for the President.

Post Office Secrecy

By REP. H. R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

It appears that it may take dynamite or maybe even a hydrogen bomb to blast out of the Post Office Department the list of $2.29-an-hour payrollers that were given jobs this summer. Why the department should hide these job handouts, allegedly to needy youths, behind a curtain of secrecy is beyond comprehension. Perhaps it is because too many of the several thousand jobs in the Post Office Department went not to needy youths but to sons of political bigwigs, including the son of a millionaire member of Congress. Lyndon Johnson, with a simple telephone call to his new postmaster general, could see to it that the public is given this information which it has every right to know. But then Lyndon is not always interested in the public's right to know as evidenced by the cover-up of the scandals involving his protege, Bobby Baker.

Order Over Beauty

By REP. GARNER SHRIVER (R.-Kan.)

Among the bills given high priority by the Administration before Congress adjourns this year is the so-called highway beautification act. At the same time, a package of anti-crime bills has been put aside and will not be taken up until next year. I am strongly in favor of beautifying our highways. But shouldn't first things come first? A desperately needed study of a growing crime rate should come ahead of federal legislation in an area always controlled by the states—our highways. Certainly the fight against crime should at least have equal priority as the fight against ugliness along our highways. FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover and Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach recently stated that a crash program to combat crime and make our cities safe was a "must." They cited the alarming increase in organized and random crime. The rate of serious crimes is increasing six times faster than our population growth. Our serious crime rate is up 11 per cent over last year and the alarming part of all this is that 76 per cent of all criminals apprehended are repeaters. While law enforcement rests largely with effective local and state agencies, it is difficult to understand the casual attitude of many in Washington toward what can only be called a deepening tide of crime. Every effort should be made—and at once—to combat it. Certainly planting more shrubbery isn't the answer.

Double Overtime

By REP. ROBERT McCLORY (R.-Ill.)

The proposal to require payment of double wages for work in excess of 40 hours per week appears to be almost as controversial as the move to reduce the standard work week to 35 hours. Of course, the union-leader witnesses contend that a requirement to pay double time would discourage employers from working their employes beyond 40 hours and would induce the employer to hire additional employes. It is argued further that this would reduce unemployment and benefit the national economy. Congressman Clarence Long, liberal Democrat of Maryland and formerly a professor of economics at Johns Hopkins University, is one of the more articulate opponents of the double-time proposal. Congressman Long and other spokesmen maintain that overtime is paid principally to highly skilled workers who are already in short supply. Consequently, additional employment would not result from such a penalty provision. What could result from such a law is a slowdown of essential production because of industry cutbacks! And what would undoubtedly occur is an increase to the consumer of goods produced at double wages!

Minimum Wage

By REP. E. Y. BERRY (R.-S. D.)

My young friend, the South Dakota Democratic executive secretary, has gone to the press to attack my stand against increasing the minimum wage from $1.25 to $1.75. For those who follow the line of the "Great Society" and imagine that they are leading the people into the "promised land," I would simply say it is not difficult to understand how this crusading "Great Society" would rather keep these people unemployed and victims of the poverty program than permit them an opportunity to find employment in industry. Would it not be better to permit our youth to learn trades at salaries they can earn than to force them out into the street and into the delinquency roles?

Have we not seen enough of the results of disregard for law and order without forcing more people into this category?

Rep. Quie Asks Keppel:

Do Taxes Support Liberal Tests?

Rep. Albert Quie (R.-Minn.) has called on U.S. Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel to determine whether federal taxpayer funds help purchase politically slanted test materials used in public schools. These liberal-oriented tests were described in last week's issue of *Human Events* (page 9) and had earlier been discussed in the Republican Campaign Committee's *Newsletter.*

Quie, the ranking GOP member of a House special subcommittee on education, pointed to one question in particular as "partisan political propaganda" and "blatant and offensive by any reasonable standard."

Selected from the Otis test series, this question asked students: "A club that accepts only very rich members is said to be—a) snobbish, b) exclusive, c) conservative, d) Republican, e) un-American."

"As you can see," Quie wrote Keppel, "[this question] suggests a relationship between 'Republican' and 'conservative' on the one hand, and 'un-American' on the other, tying the whole to 'a club which accepts only very rich members.' " Quie said he found this "an offensive and inappropriate question to present to school children under the guise of testing intelligence" and hoped Keppel agreed.

"My immediate purpose in writing, however," Quie continued, "is to inquire if any of these materials are purchased and distributed with the aid of federal funds under the National Defense Education Act, or any other federal act. It is my understanding that this is the case with respect to both of the tests. If this is true, then it would appear to me that you have a responsibility in the matter.

"I fully understand that the U.S. Office of Education does not select test materials purchased under the National Defense Education Act, nor do I suggest any change in that policy. Nevertheless, I am firmly opposed to the use of federal funds to purchase and distribute materials which present such matters as the race, religion, or political beliefs of millions of citizens in a blatantly unfair and invidious light."

As of press time for this issue of *Human Events,* Rep. Quie had not received an answer from Commissioner Keppel.

Mississippi Challenge Blocked, 228-143

Below is the 228-to-143 rollcall vote by which the House of Representatives on September 17 threw out the claim of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party that the congressmen from that state were illegally elected last November. The five that will thus keep their seats are: Thomas G. Abernethy, William M. Colmer, Jamie Whitten and John Bell Williams, all Democrats, plus Prentiss Walker, Republican.

Democrats for: 141

Abbitt, Albert, Anderson (Tenn.), Ashmore, Aspinall, Bandstra, Baring, Beckworth, Bennett, Blatnik, Boggs, Bolling, Brooks, Burleson, Cabell, Cameron, Casey, Chelf, Clark, Cooley, Culver, Davis (Ga.), de la Garza, Dent, Denton, Dorn, Dowdy, Downing, Edmondson, Everett, Evins, Fascell, Fisher, Flood, Flynt, Fogarty, Fountain, Fulton (Tenn.), Fuqua, Gathings, Gettys, Giaimo, Gibbons, Gonzalez, Greigg, Grider, Griffiths, Hagan (Ga.), Hagen (Calif.), Haley, Hamilton, Hanna, Hardy, Harris, Hathaway, Hays, Hechler, Henderson, Herlong, Hull, Hungate, Jarman, Jennings, Johnson (Calif.), Johnson (Okla.), Jones (Ala.), Jones (Mo.), Kee, King (Calif.), Kirwan, Kornegay, Landrum, Lennon, Long (La.), McFall, McMillan, Mahon, Marsh, Matsunaga, Matthews, Mills, Moeller, Managan, Morrison, Moss, Murray, Natcher, O'Hara (Mich.), Olsen (Mont.), Olson (Minn.), O'Neal, Passman, Patman, Pepper, Perkins, Pickle, Pike, Poage, Pool, Purcell, Randall, Redlin, Rivers (S.C.), Rivers (Alaska), Roberts, Rogers (Fla.), Rogers (Tex.), Roush, Satterfield, Schisler, Scott, Secrest, Selden, Sikes, Sisk, Slack, Smith (Va.), Staggers, Steed, Stephens, Stubblefield, Teague (Tex.), Thompson (N.J.), Todd, Trimble, Tuck, Tuten, Udall, Ullman, Waggonner, Walker (N.M.), Watts, Weltner, White (Idaho), White (Tex.), Whitener, Willis, Wilson, Charles, Wright, Young, Zablocki

Republicans for: 87

Andrews, Glenn, Andrews (N.D.), Ashbrook, Ayres, Bates, Battin, Belcher, Betts, Bow, Bray, Brock, Broyhill (N.C.), Broyhill (Va.), Buchanan, Burton (Utah), Byrnes, Callaway, Carter, Cederberg, Chamberlain, Clancy, Clausen, Don, Collier, Conable, Corbett, Cramer, Cunningham, Curtin, Dague, Davis (Wis.), Derwinski, Devine, Dickinson, Dole, Duncan (Tenn.), Edwards (Ala.), Ellsworth, Erlenborn, Findley, Ford, Gerald, Frelinghuysen, Goodell, Gross, Gurney, Hall, Halleck, Hansen (Idaho), Harsha, Harvey (Ind.), Hosmer, Hutchinson, Johnson (Pa.), Jonas, King (N.Y.), Laird, Langen, Lipscomb, McClory, McCulloch, McEwen, Martin (Ala.), Martin (Neb.), Michel, Minshall, Mize, Moore, Morton, O'Konski, Pirnie, Poff, Quillen, Reid (Ill.), Rhodes (Ariz.), Saylor, Schneebeli, Shriver, Skubitz, Smith (Calif.), Stanton, Talcott, Teague (Calif.), Thomson (Wis.), Utt, Watkins, Watson, Whalley, Younger

Democrats against: 109

Adams, Addabbo, Annunzio, Ashley, Barrett, Bingham, Boland, Brademas, Burke, Burton (Calif.), Byrne, Callan, Carey, Celler, Clevenger, Cohelan, Conyers, Corman, Craley, Daddario, Daniels, Delaney, Diggs, Dingell, Donohue, Dow, Dulski, Dyal, Edwards (Calif.), Evans, Fallon, Farbstein, Farnum, Feighan, Fraser, Friedel, Garmatz, Gilbert, Grabowski, Green (Ore.), Green (Pa.), Hanley, Hansen (Wash.), Hawkins, Helstoski, Hicks, Holland, Howard, Huot, Irwin, Jacobs, Joelson, Karsten, Karth, Kastenmeier, Kelly, King (Utah), Kluczynski, Krebs, Long (Md.), Love, McCarthy, McDowell, McGrath, McVicker, Macdonald, Machen, Madden, Meeds, Minish, Mink, Moorhead, Morgan, Multer, Murphy (Ill.), Murphy (N.Y.), Nedzi, Nix, O'Brien, O'Hara (Ill.), O'Neill, Patten, Philbin, Powell, Price, Resnick, Reuss, Rhodes (Pa.), Rodino, Rogers (Colo.), Ronan, Rooney (N.Y.), Roosevelt, Rosenthal, Rostenkowski, Ryan, St. Germain, St. Onge, Scheuer, Schmidhauser, Sickles, Stalbaum, Stratton, Sweeney, Tenzer, Vanik, Vivian, Wolff, Yates

Republicans against: 34

Anderson (Ill.), Baldwin, Bell, Broomfield, Cahill, Conte, Curtis, Dwyer, Fulton (Pa.), Griffin, Grover, Gubser, Halpern, Harvey (Mich.), Horton, Keith, Kunkel, Lindsay, McDade, MacGregor, Mailliard, Martin (Mass.), Mathias, Morse, Mosher, Quie, Reid (N.Y.), Robison, Rumsfeld, Schweiker, Springer, Stafford, Wyatt, Wydler

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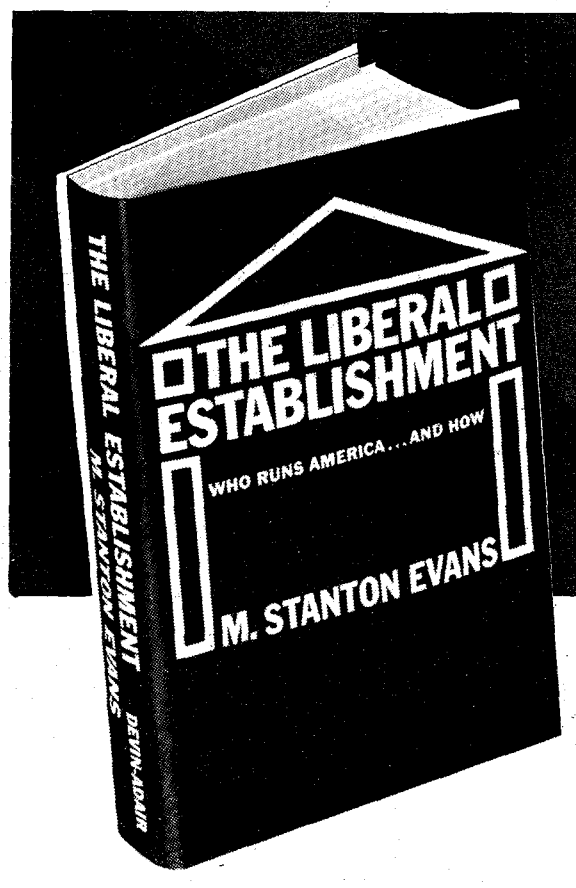

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Barry Goldwater

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